गया । इसमें सब को एक समान समझा गया है और सब को एक समान पैसा मिलेगा और जहां गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे लोग हैं, उनको ज्यादा पैसा मिलेगा । जैसा मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं--इसमें कांग्रेस की सरकार का सवाल नहीं है, इसमें जहां गुरबत ज्यादा है और पश्चिम बंगाल को ही लें, बहुत ज्यादा पैसा पश्चिम बंगाल को मिलेगा, पहले से ज्यादा पैसा मिलेगा, असम तथा सिक्किम को भी ज्यादा मिलेगा जहां दूसरी पार्टी की सरकारें हैं । क्योंकि जहां गुरबत ज्यादा है, उसके हिसाब से बाकायदा हमने इसके पैसे का बंटवारा किया है, जो पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं, गरीबी की रेखा से नीचे इलाके हैं, बाकायदा उनका हिसाब-किताब बनादिया है । वह मेरे पास है । उसके हिसाब से लोगों को पैसा मिलेगा ताकि कहीं भी कोई भाई यूं ना कहे कि फलां एरिया के साथ या फलां जगह या फलां राज्य के साथ किसी प्रकार का कोई भेद-भाव हो गया ।

इसी तरह से इन्होंने कहा कि कुछ राज्यों में चुनाव भी नहीं होते । मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूं कि उत्तर प्रदेश गुजरात, राजस्थान मध्य प्रदेश, और उड़ीसा में बाकायदा कायदे टाइम पर वहां चुनाव हुए हैं कुछ जगह देरी भी हुई है ।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** बिहार में कब से चुनाव हो गये? ... **(व्यवधान)**

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** नहीं हुआ है, वह भी बात सही है और हुआ है वह भी--दोनों बातें सही हैं ।

**श्री भजन लाल :** वह चालू है । उत्तर प्रदेश, महाराष्ट्र, राजस्थान, गुजरात में चुनाव हुए हैं, मध्य प्रदेश में प्रक्रिया शुरू हुई हैं । ... **(व्यवधान)** ... बिहार में कुछ देरी हुई है ।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** कहां चुनाव की बात और अब कायदे-कानून की बात कह रहे हैं ।

**श्री भजन लाल :** बाकायदा उनकी मिनिमम वेजज के हिसाब से गरीब आदमियों को पैसा मिलेगा । अलग-अलग स्टेट्स का अलग-अलग मिनिमम वेजज बने हुए हैं और उसी मुताबिक उनको मजदूरी मिलेगी । इतनी शानदार योजना सारे मुल्क के लिए है, इसका बड़ा भारी स्वागत हुआ है ।

बल्कि सदन को चाहिए था कि इसका स्वागत किया जाता लेकिन इनको इस बात से बहुत ज्यादा दर्द हो गया कि इस योजना के आने के बाद समझते हैं तुम्हारे पास जवाब तो कुछ रहा नहीं इतना शानदार काम कर दिया प्रधान मंत्री राजीव गांधी जी ने कि इनका बेस खत्म हो गया । इसलिए अपने डर से कि तुम लोगों में क्या कहोगे, बातें तो बहुत करते हैं, करने का कोई सवाल पैदा नहीं हो सकता इसलिए अपने डर से इस योजना की मुखालफत करते हैं । इस तरह से कभी पंचायत राज के लिए कहते हैं कि क्या ढकोसला है । कभी कहते हैं लोगों को ताकत क्यों देते हो लोगों की शक्ति लेकर आप बैठे हुए हैं और उस शक्ति को लोगों के हाथ में हम देना चाहते हैं तो उसकी मुखालफत करते हैं । इसलिए जब लोगों के बीच में ये जायेंगे तो लोग इनसे सारा हिसाब-किताब ले लेंगे । जब लोगों के बीच यह महानुभाव जायेंगे तो पता चलेगा इनकी हालत क्या है ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मैं आपका धन्यवाद करते हुए, इस योजना का स्वागत करते हुए, अपना स्थान लेता हूं ।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) :** मैं आपका भी आभार व्यक्त करता हूं कि आपने समय से कंट्राइब लिखा ।

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## CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

**Agitation by all Bodo Students' Union for a Separate State in Assam and the Steps taken by Government in the Matter**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Now, Mr. Chitta Basu. Not here. Yes, Dr. Saikia.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA (Assam): Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs to the agitation by the All Bodo Students' Union for a separate State and the steps taken by Government in the matter.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV): Sir, the demand for a Sepe-

[Shri Santosh Mohan Dev]

rate Homelands' for the Plains Tribals of Assam is not a new one but the situation now obtaining there is unprecedented. About two decades back, the Plains Tribals Councils of Assam (PTCA) emerged as the principal spokesman of the group and sought an 'autonomous region' on the north bank of Brahmputra. Subsequently, the demand was raised to that of Union Territory to be called 'Udayachal'. All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) has also vigorously taken up this demand and has been organising bandh and rail-roko type of agitations. For the last couple of years increasing violence has been witnessed during these bandhs. There were 11 major incidents in 1987 and 24 in 1988. This year a 120-hour bandh by ABSU from 16th to 21st February, 1989 has been followed by 175-hour bandh from the 2nd March and a ten day bandh from 27th March. These bandhs have resulted in widespread violence. According to the information received from the State Government in the current year upto 8th May, 794 incidents of Arson, 256 of attacks on Police, 110 murder/death, 108 of bomb explosion, 215 of Police Firing and 33 of dacoity/robbery have taken place. In addition rail and road communications have been seriously disrupted.

The Central Government have always been and continues to be, against violence by any section of society as a means of redressal of grievances. We firmly believe that law and order must be maintained. At the request of Government of Assam, available units of Central Police Forces have been placed at their disposal. Army units continue to stand-by in aid to civil power, as requested by the Government of Assam.

As has been stated on several occasions in the past, Central Government are not in favour of further division of Assam. We, however, believe that genuine grievances and demands of the tribal people must be attended to promptly and with sympathy. In the name of maintaining law and order no harassment should be caused to any section of the society. Accordingly, Home Minister had written to the Chief Minister of Assam as far back as in early 1987 advising that the State Government should initiate a meaningful dialogue with the tribal people, speed up the socio-economic development of the area and give them a sense of participation. The position of the Government of India has been clarified in our recent meetings with the Chief Minister of Assam. The efforts of the Government of Assam to have a meeting with ABSU representatives have not succeeded as they have been demanding that a representative of the Central Government should be present during the meeting and the Government of Assam have not acceded to this demand.

The Central Government hope that all concerned in Assam would realise that frequent agitations and bandhs spoil the climate not only for socio-economic development but also for a meaningful dialogue which alone can solve the problem. Committed as we are to speedy and all-round development and to restoration of normalcy, the Central Government have always helped the States in meeting such situations. While primarily it is for the State Government of Assam to sort out its matters with the concerned people, the Centre will always extend such necessary assistance as the State Government may require.

5 P.M.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I have gone through the statement given by the hon. Minister for Home Affairs, and I am happy that he has stated in the House very clearly that, as has been stated on several occasions in the past, the Central Government are not in favour of further division of Assam. I welcome this statement of the hon. Home Minister.

He has made some points in his statement regarding the violence that has been committed by the agitators, killing persons, damaging dwelling

houses, schools, office buildings, bridges and many other things. They have already killed about 200 people and already the Home Minister has given in his statement the number of incidents that took place during these days. The agitation has actually taken a very bad and serious turn. And the Home Minister has stated that the effort of the Government of Assam to have a meeting with the representatives have not succeeded as they have been demanding that a representative of the Central Government should be present during the meeting and the Government of Assam have ot acceded to this demand.

Sir, the Home Minister of Assam has very clearly written to the leaders of the movement that if only the presence of a Central observer can help to arrive at a solution of the problem then the Government of Assam does not have any objection to it. It has been clearly written by the State Home Minister. Therefore, it is not true that the Government of Assam have not acceded to this demand. Only thing is that the agitators are shifting their stand from one place to another. First they demanded that if some Central Government representatives are there, then they would come to the discussion table. But when the Home Minister has invited them and when the Home Minister has stated that they are ready to have a Central observer if it only can help in the solution then they have stated that, no, they are not coming to sit in the discussion if the demand for a separate State is not accepted by the Government of Assam.

This proves that they do not have any sincerity to come to discussion or they do not want to leave the path that they have already taken.

Therefore, Sir, the statement of the Home Minister does not reflect the actual picture in this regard.

Moreover, Sir, the Government of Assam has clarified its stand on the demand that there should be no further division of Assam as has been stated by the Union Home Minister. It is known to all that the All-Bodo Students Union submitted a memorandum which contained 92 demands and most of the demands were of administrative nature, of the type that they could be taken up by the Government of Assam. The Government of Assam has already taken up some of the demands and they have already written to the All-Bodo Students Union that they are very much sincere to discuss all their demands that related to socio-economic problems of the Bodo community. I have got in my hand the memorandum that was submitted by the All-Bodo Students Union.

[**The Deputy Chairman** in the Chair.]

It contains 92 demands. But, Madam, I have already said that they are not sincere enough and they do not want to leave their demand for a separate homeland for them. A handful of Bodo extremists in the Bodo community have resorted to it. The main point is that we have to find out who is pushing them from behind. How a small group of people could become so violent? We have reason to believe that some agencies are working from behind the screen to incite the extremists, to provoke them and to incite them not to sit with the Government of Assam for discussions.

First, one Sonaram Bweglury when interrograted by the Police, confessed that at the suggestion of the Union Home Minister they dropped the first 89 demands from the list and insisted on having the three demands including the one for a separate State fulfilled. The Union Home Minister refuted the allegation. The Home Minister, Shri Buta Singh, refuted the allegation. But I want to know whether there was a meeting on February 5, 1989, in Calcutta where some officials of the Home Minister were present. I want to know why the Government of Assam was not informed of that meetig, not to speak of inviting them.

Secondly, Surya India, an English Monthly, has come out with details of the involvement of the Union Home Ministry. If it is untrue, would the

[Dr. Nagen Saikia]

Government take necessary steps against the magazine? I have got a copy of the magazine with me. Here they have very elaborately written about the involvement of the Home Ministry.

Thirdly, Shri Bhrigu Kumar Phukan, the State Home Minister, wrote a letter to Shri Buta Singh, the Union Home Minister, seeking clarification on the alleged involvement of the Home Ministry in this Bodo agitation, but he has still been maintaining silence over this issue. No reply has been given. The Surya India wrote:

> "It became clear that not only is the Centre advising the Bodo land agitation leaders to follow a certain course of action, but it is also instigating violence, providing training to agitation activists during the network of secret intelligence agencies and providing them with arms and ammunition."

One IPS officer has been transferred to Siliguri to give guidance to the Bodoland Movement leaders who, leaving Assam, has been taking shelter at Siliguri under the umbrella, as has been alleged, of the Home Ministry to issue their statements and bandh calls from there. Moreover, Madam, Upen Brahma, the leader of the All Bodo Students Union, it is stated—it has been written in the magazine and all the papers also—was flown to Delhi to hold secret talks with the Home Minister. The Union Home Ministry is creating little Bhindrawalles in the North-East, specially in AAsam —this is our belief—to destabilise the AGP Government. But, Madam, it would boomerang, as has been happening in Punjab. With this character, the Union Home Minister does not have the right to hold the portfolio of the Ministry. If it is true that the Home Ministry itself is instigating the Bodo insurgency there, the Home Minister does not have the right to hold the portfolio. The Home Ministry has been trying to prove on the other hand that the AGP Government is not able to tackle the problem On the one hand, they have been asking the Assam Government to hold talks with the agitationists, and on the other, they have been inciting them as alleged in the papers—it is not yet refuted—not to sit with AGP. On the one hand, the Home Minister has been saying that no division of Assam will be allowed. On the other hand, they have been inciting, as I have cited the agitationists to go on demanding for a separate State so that the Central Government could intervene. I have no word to criticise the double standard of the Home Minister, if it is true, as it has come out in the papers. I apprehend—this is my apprehension—that the Central Home Ministry has been preparing a dossier against the Government of Assam..

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Dossier?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Yes, dossier.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: ...to accuse it as incapable to find out a political solution of the problem and to curb violence, and on the other hand to accuse it as resorting to State violence against the agitationists. The Home Minister, in his statement has stated at the same time that nobody should be harassed. Some certain statement is there. They want to equate the ABSU agitation with the AASU agitation. They forget, Madam, that AASU agitated for a national cause—to detect and deport the foreigners from the country. But the ABSU movement is to have a separate State on most unrealistic ground.

Madam, for the sake of the integrity and the solidarity of the country, for the sake of humanism, I would like to request you to urge upon the Government not to do anything for narrow political gain because it would lead the country to the bottom of the hell. And another shocking news is there that the Bodoland agita-

tion is being helped by some other forces with their roots in foreign countries with a view to destabilising the unity and integrity of India. It is alleged that a section of the Christian Missionaries have been pumping funds into insurgency, and they are trying to build up an umbrella organisation for all secessionist and extremist forces. Dr. Phukunch Bodo, an extremist, openly declared that they would try to get a homeland for them even if necessary with the help of foreign powers. But the Central Government has not taken these statements seriously till today. Therefore, Madam, we have this suspicion in our mind that on the one hand the Ministry people are inciting the insurgency in Assam for its narrow political gain, and on the other hand some foreign missionaries are also trying to incite the agitationsts for their own benefit. Therefore, the statement made by the hon. Home Minister could not satisfy me. I only urge upon the Government to take the matter seriously, not with a view to toppling the Government of Assam, but with a view to finding out a solution of the problem, and with a view to convincing the agitationists that with a small population of 7 per cent in the whole State they cannot be given a separate State. The population ratio—I think the Home Minister knows more accurately than I know—in Assam, the total population in north bank, the proposed Bodoland, the land which they propose to claim to be their land, is 61.5 lakhs. Total tribal population in the whole of north bank is 8.39 lakhs and Bodo population in north bank is 7.7 lakhs only and the total Bodo speaking population in the entire State as per 1971 census is 5,33,713, and as per the 1981 census, projected figure, the Bodo speaking population in the whole State of Assam is 7,26,117. With this population...

**SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): What is the percentage, according to you?**

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: According to me the percentage is 4.4, not more than that. And with this small population, a community cannot claim to have a separate land. Moreover, the Bodo community is scattered all over the State. One of the major portions of the broad Bodo community is migrating out of Assam, and only a small section of the Bodo speaking people are resorting to violence and demanding that a separate land should be given to them. Not all the Bodo speaking people are demanding a separate State.

Therefore, Madam, the whole matter is a serious matter. It is related with the integrity and solidarity of the country also. I urge upon the Government to take this matter seriously and have a peaceful solution of the situation.

Thank you..

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): Madam Deputy Chairman, what I am concerned with on this issue is the role of the Central Government. There have been agitations of some kind or the other in various parts of the country, creating explosive situation not only for the State Governments and local authorities, but also for the people. Bodo agitation has been there since many years. They have been demanding justice—political and economic. And they are, of late, demanding a separate homeland. I have no quarrel with Union Government if they try to play healthy constructive role to bring about a peaceful settlement of the legitimate issues; but what I learn—and disturbingly learn—is that the Central Government, the Home Minister in particular, and the officials of the Home Ministry indulge in connivance with the extremists among the Bodos, and they participate in secret parleys and meetings and encourage these elements to intensify the agitation. That is what worries me. Union Government is treating

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

Assam, perhaps, as an alien land. One hears such stories only when a government comes into conflict with foreign forces. But you seem to be treating Assam as if it is not a part of India. Maybe, Assam might have been ruled or may be ruled by a party which does not belong to you. It does not mean that you should adopt an approach which will complicate the situation and embitter the feelings between tribals and others in Assam.

We know the history of Assam. Assam has been vivisected many times for some reason or the other. The whole North-estern part is not stabilised, including Assam. And when such is the situation, when an agitation erupts, what should be the role of the Union Government? What should be the role of the Home Ministry in particular? It should help the State Government to resolve the conflict, to settle the issues. Instead, the Bodos get encouragement and get I am told, some weapons supplied by whom, I do not know, but with the active connivance of the Central Government...

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: The purpose of this debate, I think, is to defuse the situation not to worsen it. And with this view, I would appeal to hon. Members to approach it, because what is being said is absolutely wrong, a malacious propaganda, and this will not help to defuse the situation, as saying that Assam is not a part of India and that Government of India is doing it. He has got the right to say anything; I have no objection. He is more experienced than me but they have heared our reply in Lok Sabha where all Members of Parliament, including opposition, and AGP appreciated. We are having a talk. So I would request them—the situation is really bad—that we should not say anything which gives a wrong message.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would request Mr. Gurupadaswamy

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am equally concerned....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gurupadaswamy,...

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Let me go on. I am equally concerned...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am saying that you should keep in mind what the hon. Minister has said. Let all hon. Members keep in mind what he has said.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I am saying the same thing. I am equally concerned that the situation should be defused as smoothly and as quickly as possible. This is my point. There should not be any encouragement of any sort which will only result in intensification of the agitation. This is my whole argument. I would like the hon. Minister to contradict me—I would be happy if I am contradicted—that the Government of India has not played any role in encouraging—I use the word 'encouraging'—any elements, extremist elements, among the Bodos.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Perhaps, you are not aware that 90 per cent of the arms seized from the ABSU was snatched away from the Assam Police and the Assam Forest Guards.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: How do you explain this? Was there no meeting in Calcutta? My friend raised it.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: I will reply to it. You said about the arms. As I said, 90 per cent of the arms seized was snatched away from the Assam Police and the Assam Forest Guards. I am saying this based on the report from the Assam Government. When this calling Attention

came up, we asked for a report from the Assam Government and they have confirmed this.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I would be very happy to hear that. May I say that my information is that arms have been supplied to them under your very nose and some of them have been trained also to carry on this kind of agitation in Assam and to destabilise Assam? This is my information. I would very happy...

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Assam): You are wrongly informed.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: I stand corrected...

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: I come from Assam. I am a Bodo. Your figure is not correct. You are giving a misleading figure. I will point this out when I speak.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Do you want a sepaarte State?

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATRI: I am a Bodo myself. I know the problem very well.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Do you want a separate State?

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: No. Not at all. I have said this many times.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: He is against it. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DHARANIDHAR MASUMATARI: What figure they are giving? Can they prove it? Can they substantiate it? I will divulge everything, what they are doing. It is they who are instigating, not the Central Government.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: I stand by my figure.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR MASUMATARI: You are giving a misleading figure.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Is he making a speech or what?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Basumatari, you will have your chance to speak.

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY: Madam, the agitation has already caused much havoc in Assam. I have also got the figures. Some figures have been quoted by my colleague here and some figures have been quoted by him. There has been complete dislocation of communications. The number of bridges damaged/burnt up to 15-4-89 is 129; number of Government buildings burnt/damaged-92; number of railway engines damaged-3; number of railway stations damaged-1; incidents of damage to railway lines due to removal of fishplates/ rails etc.-15; derailment of trains due to sabotage-4; number of snapping of rail communication-18; cases of arson-918; cases of murder/killing-174; cases of attack on police-239 and bomb explosions-228. These incidents are increasing every day. Where do they get the supplies from, I would like to know. Who are suppling? Is it not a fact that the Arunachal Pradesh Government is also trying to give all sorts of help and encouragement to the Bodos? Have you checked it up? This is a very serious matter. Bhutan is bery near, and the borders are becoming vulnerable as a result of this.

Bodo, as a community, is not very big. They are only about 7 lakh odd people. They have created havoc in Assam, to the economy of Assam. But the legitimate issues which they have raised, economic issues, social issues, have to be settled. I would like the Government of India to play a very constructive role. I also want the Assam Government to take initiative more initiative to meet the Bodos and

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

their representatives. All socio-economic problems, tribal problems which they are facing, have got to be settled peacefully. Enough financial assistance should be given, and programmes have got to be evolved for the development of the entire tribals there. I have no quarrel on that. That must be done. The Government of Assam should take all steps in this regard.

But I am only afraid that the Government of India may use this as a weapon, as a means to destabilise the Government of Assam. I am just warning, forewarning the Government of India here. I know their methods. We have seen them elsewhere. Therefore, I am expressing my fear to you that the Bodo agitation may be taken as an excuse, justification for destabilising the elected Government in Assam. That should not happen. I would like the Central Government, the State Government and the Bodo representatives to sit around and discuss all the issues including the political issues.

If Assam has to progress, prosper, it should have peace and tranquillity, the agitation should stop, and there should not be any grant of a homeland, a separate homeland for the Bodos. Short of that, I commend all economic assistance, financial assistance for upliftment of the Bodo tribals. They should be integrated with the rest of Assam. All steps should be taken, and they should be convinced about the genuineness and sincerity of the Govenment of Assam, and the Government of India should play a very healthy and constructive role to bring about a settlement between the Government of Assam and the representatives of the Bodo tribals.

With these words, Madam, I hope and trust that the Bodo agitation will come to an end very soon and that the Government of India will give all help to the State of Assam to bring about a settlement.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Madam Deputy Chairman, the statement made by the Minister of State for Home Affairs itself betrays the gravity of the situation that has arisen out of the Bodo agitation and the dealing of the situation by both the Assam State Government and the Central Government.

Madam, without going into the details of the developments that have taken place, I can at least say that the Minister of State for Home Affairs tried to project innocence of the Central Government and also tried to project its very helpful role played so far to settle the problems. I cannot give a clean chit that way because the Central Government led by the Congress (I) party always tries to fish in troubled waters, particularly in the areas, in the States which are ruled by non-Congress (I) parties. We have seen in Bengal also how initially the Congress Party and the Central Government had tried to fish in troubled waters at Darjeeling, but later, of course, faced with a very scientific and at the same time effective approach of the West Bengal State Government, the Central Government had to come down and be a party to the all-round settlement. But apart from the Central Government's dubious role in the matter of the Bodo agitation, I would like to point out that the Assam Government—it is my friendly criticism—led by Assam Gana Parishad, in certain cases at certain points of time had shown a certain attitude or approach, which was not helpful to bring about an amicable settlement of this developing situation, particularly in the matter of their intolerance of all kinds of minorities—ethnic, linguistic or religious. They were not helpful to bring about an amicable settlement.

As far as the agitators' demand is concerned...

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Mr. Ghosh, may I draw your attention to a few letters? Mr. Brighu Kumar Phukan wrote to Mr. Upen Bhramha as early as 18th February. He very intimately wrote that he should come and discuss the whole problem and find out a solution. Then again on March 31, he wrote to me. Again on April 4 and again on April 11, April 18 and again on April 26 he wrote. In the last letter he had clearly stated that he had no objection to it.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I know that. I did not mean that they did not write to the leaders of the agitation or they did not try to...

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: What he was written is wrong. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I need not have a certificate from you Mr. Basumatari. I know what role you had played during the Assam agitation. I know. You need not give me that certificate.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: Would you repeat?

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: I know that. Mr. Dev also knows it. What I wanted to say was not that the Assam Government did not write to the agitation leaders or did not try to sit with them, but the question is when I said the intolerance towards all types of minorities—ethnic or religious or linguistic—there were certain genuine grievances of the tribals. And particularly those tribals who have the distinctive character of their culture, their sub-nationalities, all these things, towards those tribals... (*Interruptions*) Towards those Tribals the State Government has appeared to be—I can say this—without a clearcut specific policy. I have come to know from the Press that it is the desire of the majority community in that State that other minority communities should mix up, should submerge with the majority community irrespective of their distinctive characteristics of their sub-nationalities or the culture or the language or the religion, etc. So that was my contention. As the Central Government was still intending to fish in troubled waters, the State Government was also devoid of very specific clear-cut policies to the question relating to the Tribals in that part of the country and rather made the situation very complicated. It is true that some missionary organisations are also trying to take advantage of the situation and the Government of India has also got the information. But I want to make it very clear from my party point of view that we do not support and we are not for further division of Assam. We are not for grant of a separate State for Bodos. But at the same time, we hold it legitimate the demand for the recognition of the right of the Bodos as a Tribal minority to have their identity recognised politically. Madam, you are aware that my party has always stood for the principle of regional and local autonomy within a State in order to enable the Tribal communities to share the task of administration along with other nationalities of India. This is the declared policy of our party. So in the case of Bodos also, while not supporting their demand for a separate State, we hold it legitimate that the Bodos should be given or should be granted regional or local autonomy within the State of Assam so that they can share the administration as a minority community from the ethnic point of view with the majority nationalities. They have got their distinctive characteristics of their culture and their own way of life. So this is our specific view. At the same time, we want that the State Government, the Central Government and the leaders of the agitation should sit together and bring about an amicable settlement immediately. Obviously, to bring about an amicable settlement, a greater role has to be played by the Central Government as well as by the State Governmment. So, I would appeal both to the Central

[Shri Dipen Ghosh]

Government as well as to the State Government to try to sit with the leaders of the agitation and bring about an amicable settlement so that local and regional autonomy can be granted to the Bodos within the State of Assam so as to enable minority Tribal community to share the administration with the majority nationalities...and to develop a situation where their distinctive character of culture and other aspects of social life can be developed. Madam, here again, I would like to say that time is a very important factor because it is not a question of simply destabilising Assam, it is a question of destablising the entire country. There are forces both inside and outside our country which are trying to destabilise the internal political situation of our country and in their bid to destabilise our country, they want to take advantage of all these agitations though these agitations are on genuine grievances be cause these tribals have their genuine grievances. They are economically depressed and oppressed and because of the majority chauvinism of certain nationalities, the distinctive character of their culture and social life has not been allowed to develop. In the absence of a specific clear-cut policy towards these tribals, towards the development of these tribals, towards the development of their social and economic life of these tribals, a situation is being created where they are being forced to agitate and the reactionary forces and the vested interests are trying to utilise this situation. So, I hope the Central Government and the Sate Governments of Assam having understood the gravity of the situation will immediately sit with the leaders of the agitation and try to bring about an amicable settlement. My specific question to the Union Minister of State for Home Affairs is that apart from what he has stated in his statement, if prima facie I take it as a sincere statement, then what exactly is the difficulty the Central Government has been faci to fulfil the sincere attemt which has made known through this sta ment? From which quarter, fr which forces they are facing diffic ties and what steps they have tak to overcome this difficulty and wh further steps they propose to take that the representatives of thr groups, that is the Central Gover ment, the Sate Government and t agitation leaders' organisation can brought to a negotiating table to a rive at a negotiated settlemer Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sh Chaturanan Mishra.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Madam House.

(*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: D Saikia, you had your say. I have ca led Mr. Chaturanan Mishra. (*Inter uptions*)

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: We do n have any dispute regarding the pr servation of the linguistic and cultu ral identity of the tribals and th Government of Assam has therefor established a Directorate of Tribal Re search, on the basis of whose sugge tion from time to time, the Gover ment is taking all sorts of measures. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: D Saikia, you have only raised an issu It is for the Minister to reply. (*In terruptions*)

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Madam, have only clarified the point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You had your say. That is all. (*Interrup tione*).

SHRI DHARNIDHAR BASUMATA RI: He is only claiming. I can als claim as a citizen... (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then it will be a reply and question and answer between both of you and the Minister can easily sit quiet.

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र** (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय यह अत्यन्त ही दुखद बात है कि बोडो आन्दोलन हिंसात्मक रूप ले रहा है और वहां बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर तोड़-फोड़ चल रही है। लेकिन एक बात है कि हमारी सरकार की ऐसी पद्धति हो गयी है कि जब तक हिंसा नहीं होती तोड़-फोड़ नहीं होती तब तक सरकार बात सुनती ही नहीं है। साधारण तरीके से मीटिंग करके, रिप्रेजेंटेशन करके पार्लियामेन्ट में सवाल उठा करके तो कोई सुनता ही नहीं है। ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री घरनीधर बासुमतारी** : सुनते ही नहीं है लोग।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र** : आपही के साथ हम हैं।... (व्यवधान)। तो इसीलिये लोगों के पास रास्ता क्या बचा है। इसलिये मेरा पहला सवाल होगा गृह मंत्री जी से कि ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है और इसका वह जवाब दें कि बिना हिंसा के कोई बात इस देश में क्यों नहीं सुनी जाती ? पहली बात तो हम आज यहां कहना चाहेंगे कि यह कुंभकरन की तरह सरकार क्यों सोई रहती है ? कुंभकरन को गोदा मारते थे तब वह उठता था। दूसरा प्रश्न है कि गृह मंत्रालय के बारे में हरेक राज्य से जहां-जहां ऐसा आन्दोलन उठता है या ऐसी कोई बात होती है तो गृह मंत्रालय के पार्टिजन आउटलुक है गृह मंत्रालय की यह बार-बार शिकायत आती है क्या यह संभव नहीं है कि आप कुछ ऐसे ढंग से पहले से काम करें जिससे ऐसे मामलों पर जो राष्ट्रीय सवाल है एक कामन आउटलुक देश में बनाया जा सके ऐसा गृह मंत्रालय क्यों नहीं कर पाता है ? इस बात को हम जानना चाहेंगे कि मंत्री महोदय को इसमें क्या दिक्कत है ? हम लोग समझते हैं कि मंत्रालय का इस्तेमाल होम मिनिस्ट्री का इस्तेमाल पार्टिजन आउटलुक के लिये किसी एक पार्टी के लिये करना संभव अत्यन्त ही घृणास्पद काम है और तब लोगों का विश्वास सरकार पर से उठ जायेगा इस ढांचे पर से उठ जायेगा। अब हमारी दूसरी बात यह है कि इस सवाल को हम कैसे देखते हैं। यह एक राज्य का प्रश्न नहीं है। जब देश आजाद हुआ इसके थोड़े दिनों के बाद जो डिवैलप्ड लैंग्वेज थी जो डिवैलप्ड नेशनेलिटी थी जैसे केरल का, महाराष्ट्र का आन्ध्र का इन लोगों ने आन्दोलन उठाया और इन लोगों का आन्दोलन इतना सबल था कि उस वक्त भी हिंसा हुयी थी और उस वक्त भी तोड़-फोड़ हुई थी माननीय सदस्यों को याद होगा कि आन्ध्र में क्या हुआ था, महाराष्ट्र में क्या हुआ था सारी बातें याद होंगी। उसकी तुलना में तो कम हिंसा हो रही है। तो जब वह हिंसा हुई और तोड़-फोड़ हुई तो भारत सरकार ने स्टेट री-आर्गेनाइजेशन कमीशन बैठाया और सारी बातों की जांच की और उस वक्त में ये नेशनेलटी या एथनिक ग्रुप डिवेलप्ड नहीं थे।

[उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) पीठासीन हुए।]

चाहे बोडो की बात हो चाहे गोरखा लोग की बात हो चाहे आदिवासियों की बात हो यह उस वक्त में इतने डिवैलप्ड नहीं थे। अब हम लोग 40–50 वर्ष अपनी आजादी का राज चलाए हैं तो थोड़ा तो विकास हुआ है, इनका यह तो कोई नहीं कहेगा कि बिल्कुल ही विकास नहीं हुआ। उनमें शिक्षा का विकास हुआ, उनको अपनी भाषा के प्रति सम्मान का ज्ञान हुआ है, उनको अपनी सैल्फ-रिस्पैक्ट का ज्ञान हुआ है, उनकी आइडेंटिटी को लोग समझें, इसका उन्हे ज्ञान हुआ है। इसलिए मुझको यह जानकारी है कि जो आप एक बोडो की बात देख रहे हैं, वह तमाम आदिवासियों के लिये लागू है, तमाम पिछड़े एथनिक ग्रुप के लिये लागू है और इसके बारे में आपको कोई रास्ता निकालना पड़ेगा। एक नई

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

बात हो गयी है, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो मैं आपको कहना चाहूंगा। वह यह है कि पहले होता था कि आदिवासी ही आन्दोलन करते थे, अभी मेरे बिहार का तजुर्बा यह है कि उस क्षेत्र में जितने भी पिछड़े लोग रहते हैं, जो आदिवासी नहीं हैं वे भी एक हो करके पृथक राज्य की मांग करते हैं। यह एक नई चेज आई है, जिसे हमको नोट करना चाहिये। आप पुराने कांग्रेसजन लोगों को याद होगा, जब हम आजाद नहीं हुए थे, तब भी हमारे आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी लैंग्वेज के बेसिस पर कांग्रेस कमेटी का निर्माण हुआ था, अभी एक नई बात हो गयी है कि दूसरे लोगों के पिछड़ेपन की वजह से भी वे भी उस मूवमेंट में ज्वायन करते हैं और अभी हमारे माननीय सदस्य सैकिया जी ने फिगर दी कि बोडो का इतना पापुलेशन है। यह बात ठीक है। लेकिन प्रश्न यह उठता है कि जब यह हिस्सा आगे बढ़ करके हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन करता है, तो दूसरा हिस्सा उसका विरोध नहीं करता, वह भी हमदर्दी की निष्पक्षता रखता है, यह एक नई घटना घट रही है। उसी तरह आन्दोलन के स्वरूप में एक नई घटना घटी है। पहले आन्दोलन होता था, उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने भी उस आन्दोलन को किया है, जब जमींदार से लड़ते थे, जमींदार के ऊपर हमला करते थे, जमींदार हमारे ऊपर हमला करते थे उसमें हम मारे जाते थे या वह मारे जाते थे। अब तीसरा आन्दोलन चला है, न जमींदार के ऊपर हमला होगा और न जमींदार हमला करेगा, राह चलते हुए किसी आदमी की हत्या कर दी जायेगी और आपको कहा जायेगा कि आप राज नहीं चला सकते।

पंजाब में यही हो रहा है, दूसरी जगहों में यही हो रहा है। इनोसेन्ट लोगों की हत्या करायी जाती है। अब यह वर्ल्ड वाइड ट्रेण्ड चला है, आपने खुद भी देखा होगा, अभी खुमैनी साहब का जो स्पीकर है, उन्होंने कहा कि जहां पाओ, वहां पश्चिमी देशों के लोगों की हत्या कर दो। यह एक नया स्टाइल चला है। तो इसके चलते हिंसा की घटनायें हत्याओं, की घटनायें और भी ज्यादा होंगी। गवर्नमेंट को इसको नोट कर लेना चाहिये। मेरा ख्याल है कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट इन सब बातों को नोट नहीं कर रही। इसलिये मेरा यह एक सुझाव होगा कि मंत्री महोदय से, कि हमारे संविधान में आर्टिकल 371 है, अनुसूची 6 है, पहले जो आर्टिकल 242 भी था, शायद बाद में यह अमेंड किया गया। क्या यह संभव नहीं है कि इन्हें लागू कर हम इन समस्याओं का निदान कर दें।

मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि एक नारा हुआ स्टेट बनाने का अभी आप ने गोरखा परिषद कायम किया। उन्हें कुछ उससे भी बढ़कर आपने अधिकार दिया। रीजनल आटोनोमी की बात जरूर आई है, लेकिन इण्डियन कंस्टीट्यूशन में रीजनल आटोनोमी का स्पष्ट प्रावधान नहीं है। यही आर्टिकल है जिनके आधार पर आप कुछ कर सकते हैं। तो हमारा यह अनुरोध होगा कि मंत्री महोदय से, कि क्या यह वक्त नहीं आया है कि हम पिछड़ी हुयी नेशनेलटीज के लिये, पिछड़े हुए ग्रुप के लिये, आदिवासियों के लिये कोई राष्ट्रीय कमीशन बैठाकर के जांच करा लें, बिना तोड़-फोड़ के। हमारे बिहार में अभी हाल ही में झारखण्ड आन्दोलनकारियों ने ट्रेन की पटरी को तोड़ दिया, यह तो मंत्री महोदय को याद होगा। तो झारखण्ड आन्दोलन भी बोडो आन्दोलन की दिशा में बढ़ रहा है। यह अलग बात है कि हम हर बात में विदेशियों को देखें, लेकिन पहले हमें देखना चाहियें, अपनी जनता को और उसके बाद देखना चाहिये कि आज विदेशी हमारे लोगों का इस्तेमाल तो नहीं कर रहे; हमको अपने लोगों को देखना चाहिए कि उनका स्वभाव क्यों बदल रहा है, क्यों मानसिकता बदल रही है, आखिर क्या बात है? इसलिये मैं अनुरोध करूंगा कि सिर्फ आप तोड़-फोड़ के भरोसे न रहिये, हिंसा के भरोसे न रहिये और जहां तक बोडो का मसला है, उसके बारे में तो आप बातचीत चलाइयें, लेकिन बाकी लोगों के बारे में सारी जांच हो ताकि कोई हिंसा में न जायें।

[ उपसभापति महोदया पीठासीन हुई ।]

महोदया, संविधान में 15 भाषाओं के बारे में दिया है एटथ शेड्यूल्ड में आर्टिकल 351 है, वह हिन्दी को डवलप करने का है । हिन्दी भारत की कम्पोजिट संस्कृति के रूप में विकसित करें । इधर संविधान उस लिंक भाषा बनाने में या बनाने में देर है । कहा है कि प्राइमरी शिक्षा होगी, उनकी मदद मदर-लैंग्वेज में । ठीक बात है, लेकिन आगे क्या होगा ? जब पढ़ लायेंगे, इसके बाद क्या होगा ? इसलिये हमको देखना पड़ेगा कि एटथ शेड्यूल्ड सही काम आज कर पा रहा है या नहीं ? मैं इसलिये भी उठा रहा हूं कि इस सवाल को, कि उत्तर पूर्व के दो-तीन राज्य हैं, जिन्होंने अंग्रेजो को अपनी भाषा डिक्लेयर कर दिया है, नागालैण्ड और मेघालय ऐसे राज्य हैं, जहां तक मुझे याद है । अब स्टेट्स ने अपनी भाषा अंग्रेजो भाषा को डिक्लेयर कर दिया है, लेकिन एटथ शेड्यूल्ड में अंग्रेजी है ही नहीं । तो यह अन्तर्विरोध हुआ या नहीं हुआ । इसलिये कुछ बातें ऐसी हो गयी हैं, जिनकी जांच की जाय, कमीशन बैठे कि इसका समाधान कैसे हो ?

महोदया, यह एक राष्ट्रीय सवाल है, सिर्फ आदिवासियों का सवाल नहीं है, सिर्फ बोडो का सवाल नहीं है । मैं हरिजनों के सवाल को हरिजनों का सवाल नहीं समझता बल्कि इसको राष्ट्रीय सवाल समझता हूं, मैं मुसलमानों के सवाल को भी मुस्लिम सवाल नहीं समझता, राष्ट्रीय सवाल समझता हूं क्योंकि अगर इस देश के बीस-पचीस करोड़ लोग पिछड़े रह जाएंगे तो यह राष्ट्र उन्नति नहीं कर सकता । हम कोई भी विकास कार्य करेंगे और अगर हरिजन पिछड़े रह जाएंगे, आदिवासी पिछड़े पड़े रहेंगे मुस्लिम पिछड़े पड़े रहेंगे तो हमारा देश विकास कर ही नहीं सकता । इसलिए राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से सभी पार्टियों को साथ बैठाकर के एक आप रास्ता निकालिए और हर वक्त आप हिंसा और तोड़फोड़ का इंतजार मत कीजिए । यही बात चाहूंगा ।

दूसरी बात, जो इसके साथ मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि केन्द्रीय सरकार पर आज ज्यादा अभियोग आ रहा है कि इधर चलकर के चुनाव की राजनीति के चलते केन्द्रीय सरकार के लोग, शासक दल के लोग कहीं मुस्लिम लीग से समझौता कर लेते हैं, कहीं त्रिपुरा में सरकार गिराने के लिए टी०एन०वी० से समझौता कर लेते हैं । आपके ऊपर यह चार्ज आ रहा है । मिजोरम के उदय के लिए तमाम लोग आपको दोषी कह रहे हैं । आपके "न" कहने से नहीं होगा, यहां आप की मेजोरिटी है आप "न" कह दीजिए । इससे क्या होगा ? देश में यह चर्चा चल रही है । अभी मिजोरम का इलेक्शन हुआ, वहां आपके ही मेनिफेस्टो में है, कांग्रेस के मेनिफेस्टो में है, कि क्रिश्चियन सिद्धांत के आधार पर सरकार बनेगी । आप पर इसलिए यह चार्ज आएगा कि आप ऐसी करने लगे हैं । पहले की कांग्रेस नहीं कर रही थी तो कोई कांग्रेस को कहता भी नहीं था, लेकिन अभी कांग्रेस कर रही है, इसलिए आप पर यह चार्ज आ रहा है ।

6 P.M.

यह बहुत अच्छी बात हुई कि मिस्टर सैकिया साहब ने लेटर पढ़कर सुनाया । मंत्री महोदय, पता नहीं सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट और स्टेट गवर्नमेंट के बीच कितना कम्युनिकेशन गैप है कि जब स्टेट गवर्नमेंट एग्री कर गई कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट का रिप्रजेंटेटिव रहे, तब भी केन्द्रीय सरकार बात करने को तैयार नहीं है । उन्होंने लेटर पढ़ा है ।

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: No, no. It is to their Government, not to the Central Government.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: What he has said is that the State Government has said: "First you come and have a preliminary discus-

[Shri Chaturanan Mishra]

sion and then we shall decide about the Central Government representative.". Is it not?

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: I will read it:

"I had clarified a number of times and also written to you that the Government of Assam does not have a rigid stand on the question of inviting a Central Government observer to any discussions with the AASU, not to speak of this being a prestige issue for us."

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Where does the matter stand? It is the Bodos who had written that the Central representatives should be there, not that the Home Ministry has demanded that they should be there. You are still saying that Assam Govt. do not agree to the inclusion of centre's representatives in talks. I do not agree.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: In the federal set-up that we have, is it possible for the Central Government to go and say that we will send our representative? We cannot. Unless there is a request from the State Government, we cannot do it. What he has read is only a part of the letter. He has read out a part of the letter only. He has read out a part of the letter whereas I have got the full letter with me. I am not blaming you. But this is the position.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: All right. But, in the same federal set-up, when it comes to the question of Governor's intervention, you never hesitate. But when it comes to the question of ethnic groups and the tribal people and the Harijans, for that, under the Constitution, you have got, the Centre has got, a specific responsibility and whenever there is a movement for the separation from the country, for the division of the country, the Centre must act Don't come and say that you want to throw away the AGP Government or any State Government. The Central Government must be a Government which keeps India united and that is the central point that you should concentrate upon. Here I want to tell you that this is not merely a State matter. I think that when the letter was there, there was sufficient ground for you to talk to the Chief Minister or the State Government and also to the Bodo representatives, "All right. Let us come to the round table and talk and discuss and thrash out and solve the problem.".

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE (Assam): I fear that they do not have the large-heartedness. I hope I am not mistaken.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: I can tell you only what he has read out.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: They say that they do not have a rigid stand. That is all that they say. What does it mean?

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: It means that if the Central Government is also there, they are prepared to accept it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I want the houourable Member to address the Chair. If you want to have a discussion, you can have it outside. But here you please address me.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: Yes, yes, I am addressing you and through you the Members of the House मैं आपको ही एड्रस करता हूं। और अगर आप कुछ लिखने-पढ़ने लगेंगी, तब भी मैं आपको ही एड्रेस

करूंगा ... (**व्यवधान**) ... महोदय, मुझ इस बात की खुशी है कि एक ऐसा वातावरण क्रिएट हो गया है जब उच्च-स्तरीय बातें सभी पक्षों में बोडो, राज्य सरकार और केन्द्र सरकार के बीच हो सकती हैं। मैं बोडो आन्दोलनकारियों से अपील करूंगा कि वह भी एक टेबिल पर बैठकर इस समस्या का निदान करें क्योंकि वह पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है। अब जहां तक आसाम की बात है, वहां तो और भी कठिन समस्या है। अरुणाचल प्रदेश में देखें, वहां 36 लैंग्वेज हैं। वहां 36 ट्रायबल ग्रुप्स हैं। यहां वह हिस्टोरिकल प्रोसेज नहीं हुआ, जो रेस्ट आफ द इंडिया में हुआ। इसलिए इस समस्या का निदान किया जाए। मेरा यह कहना नहीं है कि हर जगह सेपरेट स्टेट बना दी जाए। यह मेरा ख्याल नहीं है।....(**व्यवधान**).... आसाम तो कटते-कटते अब वह इतना छोटा हो गया है।

**श्री धरनींधर बासुमतारी** : किसने काटा ?

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र** : यह हाल में बना है, लेकिन नागालैंड और मेघालय के समय आप ही थे।

यह सब बना, उस वक्त आप ही थे। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि असम को ज्यादा छोटा न किया जाए, हम भी इस पक्ष के हैं, बहुत छोटा हो गया है, यह बात सही है, लेकिन हो सकता है कि किसी राज्य को विभाजित भी करना पड़े लेकिन समस्या पर नए दृष्टिकोण से विचार किया जाए और हम इस बात से सहमत नहीं हैं कि सिर्फ उनकी भाषा का क्या सवाल है, सिर्फ नौकरी का सवाल है ? यह प्रश्न अब नहीं है। अब वह उठकर खड़े हो रहे हैं अपनी आइडेंटिटी के लिए, अपना स्थान प्राप्त करने के लिए, पूरे भारत में सम्मानजनक स्थान की प्राप्ति के लिए। इसलिए इसे सिर्फ नौकरी, जीविका, भाषा से मत संबंधित कीजिए। मैं यह चाहता हूं कि सरकार नए दृष्टिकोण से इन सारी समस्याओं पर विचार करे और ऐसा कोई रास्ता निकाले जिससे और जगह पर भी हिंसा नहीं फैले। जहां तक बोडो का सवाल है, उस पर तो जल्दी से जल्दी विचार किया जाए। राज्य सरकार भी तैयार है बातचीत के लिए, तो आपको और भी आसानी हो गई है कि आप बैठकर बातचीत करें और समस्या का निदान निकालें। यह और भी जरूरी हो गया है।

मैं एक बार फिर कह दूं कि होम मिनिस्ट्री हमारी जो है, वह पक्षपात पूर्ण रवैये से काम नहीं करे। हमको यह लग रहा है कि वह ऐसा ही कर रही है, जो बहुत दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात है और इसके चलते वातावरण और भी दूषित हो रहा है। यही मुझे आपसे कहना था। धन्यवाद।

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Madam, the statement which has been read out by the hon. Home Minister presents a grim situation as regards the Bodo agitation in Assam. The problem of Bodos is a problem of minorities. Our founding fathers, while enacting our Constitution, made provisions for the protection of minorities, to preserve their culture, to preserve their language, to preserve their religion, and those provisions are contained in articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution. Protection of minorities, and prevention of their discrimination is the key question to which all in this House should address themselves, cutting across party differences. It is our duty, particularly here as Members of the Council of States, to remove this feeling of discrimination. By and large, these feelings of discrimination get aggravated on grounds of economic disparities and resulting in backwardness, denial of job opportunities, failure to protect their social, cultural and religious identities. A major fear among the Bodo is the possibility of their distinct identity being assimilated into the dominant

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

Assamese. Their most important grievance is what the tribal perceive as constitutional discriminations against them which obstruct their legitimate desire to maintain their social, cultural and religious identities as opposed to those of Assamese non-tribals.

Madam, this is a very, very serious question when the minorities want to preserve their culture, when they preserve their language and in many cases they want to preserve their religion and they do not get assimilated with the other majority, how to bring them into the mainstream of the life of that State or nation is a very, very serious and very difficult question which we must address ourselves with all seriousness.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): On a point of order....

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to speak and you will have your chance. I would suggest that you take a piece of paper and write that point and speak later on.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I will only read some of the demands of the Bodos so that she can respond when she gets an opportunity. One of the demands is opposition to compulsory imposition of Assamese in schools and revocation of the precondition of the knowledge of Assamese in State service. Now in all the border areas between the two States which are divided on linguistic basis, you always find this problem that the majority State tribes to impose its own language on the minorities. I think that is totally not acceptable to the guarantees of the Constitution. Then look at this. Opposition to Clause 6 of the Assam Accord "Constitution, legislative and administrative safeguards as may be appropriate to be provided to protect cultural, social and linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people." It will be ensured that the relevant laws for the prevention of encroachment on Government land and lands in the tribal belts will be strictly enforced. Unauthorised encroachers will be evicted under such laws. It will be ensured that relevant clause for restricting the acquisition of immovable property by foreigners in Assam will be strictly enforced. I have seen that there has been large scale eviction which has resulted in Bodo people descending on the places. I am only making my point. I treat it not only as a national problem, but also treat it as a humanitarian problem. It is the problem of all humanity as to how to protect and how to promote this very urge of the minorities to retain their culture, to retain their language and to retain their way of life and not to get merged or assimilated into that of majority. Housing loans to poor tribals. Establishment of agricultural university at Gosaigaon. Installation of television. Increase in the number of seats for Scheduled Tribes in the educational institutions. Inclusion of Bodo language in the Eighth Schedule. Increasing the number of scholarships given to the Scheduled Tribe, and ensuring their regular disbursal. Immediate recognition of Bodo as an associate official language. What have you done? I do not think that for this one should wait for an agitation. One should look at the situation and say: "Well this is a language which will be an associate language. If you cannot do that, you cannot then complain that the Bodos are agitating. (*Time Bell rings*) Madam, I will take two or three minutes more.

Madam, after having dealt with these fundamental issues, I am pained to find that unnecessary blame is sought to be put at the doors

the Central Government. My friend, Mr. Gurupadaswamy, for whom I have very high regard, made sweeping allegations. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I had requested the hon. Members not to have cross-talk, please. you have already spoken.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: I want to deal with only one or two things. He is the Leader of the Opposition in the House and he makes a very sweeping statement that the Central Government is giving them arms. He could not produce a tickle of an evidence. I have heard the statement of Mr. Prafulla Kumar Mohanta which was given to Telegraph saying that the State Government has definite information of the militants procuring sophisticated weapons and ammunition from a section of the GNLF. The Bodo militants have also obtained some arms from the former Tribal National Volunteers (TNV) guerrillas. Mr. Mohanta said that a few stenguns were purchased from the GNLF and TNV at throwaway prices as low as Rs. 400/- each. You can add to it what was said by the hon. Home Minister a little earlier when he said that there was a letter from the Chief Minister to the Home Minister admitting that they were seized from the Forest Guards and other State police. Now, I really do not think that it is going to improve the matters. But, as I said, this is not a matter of law and order. And the Assam Government will do well to treat it as a very serious problem, a national problem; a problem of the minority because there are counter-allegations that there have been a great deal of atrocities committed by the Assamese police also on the Bodos. But, of course. I would seek the clarifications. What has the Assam Government done, how much have they spent on the Development Boards and how much has been utilised? (*Interruptions*) We will get all the figures on this aspect.

Therefore, all that I would say in the end is, please treat this as a humanitarian problem. And before I take my seat, I would only ask the following questions to the hon. Minister because wild and reckless allegations, totally baseless and unfounded allegations have been made by them to cover up their by them to cover up their failure. Now, look at it. Today the Bodos are refusing to talk to the Assam Government. What for? It is because our learned friends who are now on the other side, who are now confabulating, they refused to deal with Mr. Saikia when he was the Chief Minister. The AASU said, "we will have nothing to talk with the State Government." They refused to talk with Mr. Saika. They came to Delhi. Everybody knows how the Assam problem was solved. And now it is the same pattern which you find. And when it comes to double standard, the Assam Government has nothing to explain. Therefore, the following are my questions which will summarise the seriousness of the situation. The first question is whether at any stage any of the Central Ministers did go to Assam to defuse the situation. (2) what is the correct position about the allegation of atrocities by the police against the Bodos at Kokrajhar and other places? (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Chakravarty, you are going to have your chance. Please do not interrupt.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Is it a fact that there was no negotiation or dialogue between the State Government and AASU on the one hand, and PTCA on the other hand which is the

[Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare]

ally with the result that the agitation is now in the hands of the extremists? Did the Chief Minister meet the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and seek their assistance or advice in the matter? And last and the most important question is how many Tribal Development Boards are active. What is the allocation and utilisation for these Tribal Development Boards?

Thank you.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, the Bodo agitation in Assam was started in 1967. For all these 22 years this movement has been built up and it has reached the present stage for whatever may be the reason. People say that the Christian missionaries are the main reason for the development of his agitation. Some other say some other reason. But whatever it may be, the agitation has taken a serious turn now.

Madam, the agitation may be directly concerned with Assam. But the nature of the agitation may have its effect in the other parts of country in the long run.

Madam Dr. Nagen Saikia has given some figures about the population of Bodos but that was disputed by Dada, Mr. Basumatari. I do not want to go into these figures.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now they are having negotiations and settling the matter.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: They are already fighting over it. Madam, according to my knowledge the Bodos are in good number in Udalgiri sub-division of Darang Division and in Kokrajar town of Kokrajar district. In other places they are not in sufficient numbers. That is my information.

Madam, I will now come to the problem of Bodos. The problems can be there and they are bound to be there and they are to be settled. After all, they are minority community. They are poor people. They are a depressed class. Their grievances are to be redressed. But at the same times we have to look to other things also. According to my knowledge, there were 92 demands originally put forth by the Bodos when they started the agitation. I came to know that recently they have dropped 89 demands and they are demanding only three things now. Madam, these three things, demands, are not acceptable to the State Government, because they are very basic ones in nature and very much aimed at hitting the very existence of the State of Assam. For instance, Madam, one of the three demands is a separate State for these Bodos consisting of 10 districts towards the northern side of the Brahmaputra. Out of these ten districts there are only two districts that I have already mentioned, i.e., Darang and Kokrajar districts, where Bodos are in good number. In other districts Bodos are not in good number. I think there is no justification for demanding a separate State for Bodos consisting of those districts and I think Dada will agree with me on this. He is not demanding a separate State.

Regarding the autonomous State within the State of Assam, the Chief Minister has already given information in a press interview that Bodos are scattered over the entire State and in every plain area there are Bodos. If you start giving autonomy in a particular area to Bodos where they are in a minority, the demand will be made from every corner of the State and then the entire State is to be divided into autonomous units. That is the information given by the Chief Ministers of the State to the press.

Madam, the Chief Minister has revealed one thing. Mr. Mohanta has written a letter to the Prime Minister explaining all the problems and incidents taking place in Assam as far back as October 1988, i.e., last year. The Chief Minister has stated that he has not received any reply from the Prime Minister. On the other hand, the Prime Minister, while addressing the National Students Union of India meeting stated that the A.G.P. Government, i.e., the State Government of Assam, has failed to control the situation there. Madam, the State Government was very much pained to see this attitude of the Government of India and the Chief Minister has stated that he has taken up the matter with the Home Minister and he has given full information about these activities and agitations, but Home Ministry has not taken any action. Then, there is one controversy, Madam. The Chief Minister has stated that he requested for forces and the Government of India did not agree to give forces in the first instance. After some time they agreed to give some forces, Armed Forces, but actually they did not give. That was the statement given by the Chief Minister very recently in a press interview. Madam, here the Home Minister has stated that the Government of India have given full assistance regarding Armed Forces and all that. I want to say one thing more. The Minister in his statement says: "As has been stated on several occasions in the past, Central Government are not in favour of further division of Assam." If they are firm on this policy, this would soften the way for a settlement. But the trouble is that is not so. Recently, there are press reports that the leaders of all Bodo Assam Students Union, Mr. Upendranath Brahma and Kasiari and others and leaders of Kakar-Karimganj students association had been called by the intelligence wing of home Ministry to Siliguri in West Benugal and they were kept there and hosted by the Government of India and were provided with all facilities and have been well-educated on the agitational issue. It is also reported in the press that they were also hosted by the Chief Minister of Meghalaya, Mr. P. A. Sangma, he was a Minister here for some time, and he also hosted these people. If it is true, it is a very serious ground to think that the Government of India is not sincere in saying this sentence that they are not in favour of further division of Assam. If they have no intention to divide the State of Assam, what is the purpose of putting up all these people in a camp and educating them on agitational matters? The students leaders of Bodo agitation have firmly demanded inclusion of Government of India representative at the negotiations. They have gone to the extent of saying that they would not take part in the negotiations unless Government of India's representatives are there in those negotiations. On the same day, the Chief Minister of Meghalaya, Mr. A. P. Sangma, has put forth the same demands. He has said that it is the demand of all North-eastern States to include a representative of the Government of India at the negotiation table. This creates a doubt about the sincerity of the Government of India.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: What is your basis? Can you tell the basis of Mr. Sangma's statement?

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Press has reported it. I cannot have any other source except the press source.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Will you give that press source to me since we have not seen it? It is the first time I have heard.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: I will try to give it.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: You don't have it with you now?

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: I have gone through some press reports.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: I would like to get a copy of that press report because I have never heard of it.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: I will give it to you.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: You can send it to me afterwards.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Yes. I would like to make out one more point. If the Government of India have any plan to reorganise the State, they should have a general policy of reorganisation of the entire country. If you don't have a policy of reorganisation of the entire country, don't speak of reorganisation of any State and don't give any scope to doubt about the possibility of reorganisation of any State. If there is any reorganisation at all, first to be taken up is Uttar Pradesh; that has to be divided into three States, and then Bihar to be divided into two States. They cannot go on dividing States and create political problems wherever there is an agitation ... (*Interruptions*). It may be your convenience but you have to first think of reorganising bigger States, because wherever there are non-Congess-I governments, the Government of India is trying to aggravate the trouble arising out of some problem. We have some instances of the GNLF and then Vanniars in Tamil Nadu, and also in Andhra Pradesh. That is why I appeal to Government of India that they should not go in for narrow and shortsighted political advantages but to have a long-range and wider interests of the country in view. Thank you.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** (बिहार) : उपसभापति महोदय, आसाम के बोडो आंदोलन को कुछ ज्यादा गहराई से हम लोगों को देखना चाहिये क्योंकि यह जो बहस चल रही है इस बहस से मैंने अभी तक उन कारणों की ओर किसी को इंगित करते हुए नहीं देखा जो मूल कारण है । इसका मूल कारण है आदिवासी लोग सारे देश में भीतर ही भीतर छटपटा रहे हैं कि उनकी राजनीतिक हैसियत का अहसास हो चाहे झारखण्ड का इलाका बिहार में हो या बोडो का आसाम में हो या नागालैंड का हो या मिजोरम का हो यह तमाम जो छोटे-छोटे राज्य बने हैं उनके अन्तराल में एक भावना पैदा होती रही है ।

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Madam, I now have a copy of the Press report which I referred to in my speech.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can give it to the Minister.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : महोदय यह छटपटाहट आज सारे देश के आदिवासियों में है कि उनकी संस्कृति व रक्षा हो सके और उनको अपने विका के रास्ते अपने आप तय करने का अवस नहीं मिला । एक समय था जब पू आसाम था उसमें त्रिपुरा को छोड़क इस समय के पांच राज्य एक ही रा का हिस्सा होते थे लेकिन कभी भी व आसाम एक बड़ा राज्य था जिस मिजोरम, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, मेघालय, नाग लैंड और मणिपुर यह सारे राज्य आज बने हुए हैं एक ही राज्य थे । समय कभी भी जब तक यह बड़ा रा रहा कोई भी आदिवासी इन क्षेत्रों से आज राज्य बने हैं शिलांग में जब रा धानी आसाम की थी तो कोई मुख्य मंत्री नहीं बन सका । नान-आ वासी और बाहर से गये हुए लोग असम में इकट्ठे हो गये थे चारों त से उन लोगों ने राजनीति पर क करके राजनैतिक मोर्चाबन्दी करके ए धिकार कर लिया और वह कभी यह अनुमति नहीं दे सकते थे और स्थिति को नहीं समझ सकते थे कि इलाके के आदिवासी लोग भी राज्य सत्ता की प्रधान कुर्सी में हिस्सा पा

यह भीतर की आग है देश के कोने-कोने में आदिवासियों के बीच में और यही कारण है कि आज छटपटाहट है और आसाम खण्ड खण्ड होता रहा । नागालैंड से शुरू हुआ फिर आगे चल कर मिजोरम, मेघालय या मणिपुर अलग अलग होते गये । आज यह आसाम की जो लड़ाई चली तीन चार सालों तक उसमें बोडो जाति के लोगों ने भी काफी हिस्सा लिया और जब नयी गैर कांग्रेसी सरकार बनी तो उन्हें आशा थी शायद हमें राजपाट में उचित हिस्सा मिलेगा और उनकी स्थिति का अहसास होगा । वह निराश हुए क्योंकि केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकारों ने दोनों ने उनको यह अहसास नहीं कराया कि उनका हिस्सा है और उनकी शक्ति को हम ठीक समझते हैं । महोदया, इसका कारण यह है कि 1967 से यह जो आन्दोलन भीतर चल रहा था और सत्याग्रह के तरीके से बोडो लोग लड़ रहे थे कि हमें भी स्वायत्तता मिले लेकिन जब यह अहिंसक तरीके से लड़ रहे थे केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकार से उस समय राज्य में भी और केन्द्र में भी कांग्रेसी सरकारें थीं । यह लोग अहिंसक ढंग से लड़ रहे थे, अहिंसक भाषा बोल रहे थे तो सरकार ने सुना नहीं । दिल्ली की सरकार ने पाजीपना किया, राज्य सरकार ने पाजीपना किया **(व्यवधान)**

**उपसभापति** : पाजी मत बोलिये ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : पाजी तो पार्लियामेंटरी है महोदया ।

**उपसभापति** : कोई अच्छा शब्द यूज करिये ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : अच्छा बेहूदापन किया **(व्यवधान)** बेहूदा शब्द चलता है ।

**उपसभापति** : नहीं चलता है । हमारी चेयरमैनशिप में नहीं चलता है । आप अच्छी भाषा यूज करिये ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : मैं तो इतनी अच्छी बोल रहा हूं जो किसी ने नहीं कहा ।

**उपसभापति** : आप सब्जेक्ट अच्छा बोलिए । भाषा भी अच्छी बोलिए ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : अच्छी बात है । तो केन्द्रीय सरकार और प्रांतीय सरकार ने भी जिम्मेदारी से काम नहीं लिया और उनकी आशाओं के अनुरूप काम नहीं किया । नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो अहिंसक ढंग से लड़ रहे थे उनको भारी निराशा हुई और वे हिंसा की भाषा बोलने लगे । शुरू में यह लड़ाई दबने लगी थी । पिछले साल 1988 की फरवरी में पुलिस ने वहां मास रेप किया और करीब 7 महिलाओं के साथ सामूहिक बलात्कार हुआ था । उस घटना को मैं देखने गया था कोकराझार जिले में, यहां दिल्ली से गुवाहाटी जाकर कोकराझार जिले में गया था । एक छोटे से अखबार के एक कोने में निकला था कि सामूहिक रेप बोडो महिलाओं पर हुआ । मैंने समझ लिया यह जरूर गंभीर मामला हुआ है और यह डैंजर का प्रतीक है खतरे की निशानी है । मैंने जाकर तह में पता लगाया और एस० पी०, डी० सी० को बुलाकर उनके बयान मैंने टेप किये । मैं यहां लाया । सदन में बहस हुई और उससे मैंने सारी चीजों को रखा था । उन दिनों जब दमन की कार्यवाही शुरू होने लगी थी राज्य सरकार और केन्द्र सरकार दोनों को चाहिए था कि ये बोडो लोग नरमपंथी लोगों को छोड़कर गरमपंथी रास्ते पर क्यों जा रहे हैं, यह सोचते । उस वक्त राज्य सरकार और केन्द्र सरकार दोनों के लिए समय था कि आकर इनसे बात करते । संविधान की धारा 244 और अनुच्छेद 6 में इस बात का प्रावधान है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्र में जहां उनकी संख्या ज्यादा है, ट्राइबल एडवाइजरी काउंसिल या जनजाति सलाहकार परिषद की स्थापना की जाये । उसको इतनी पावर है, इतनी स्वायत्तता है कि संसद और विधान सभा भी अगर कोई कानून उनकी संस्कृति या विकास के बारे में पास करती है तो वह उस ट्राइबल एडवाइजरी बोर्ड के एरिया में तब तक लागू नहीं होगा जब तक बोर्ड उसको एप्रूव न करे । तो उनको बहुत बड़ी ताकत मिलती है, स्वायत्तता मिलती है । उन दिनों ही अगर राज्य सरकार ने पहलकदमी की होती, केन्द्र सरकार ने पहलकदमी

की होती इस दिशा में कि आगे बढ़कर संविधान की धारा 244 और अनुच्छेद 6 दोनों को मिल कर इसको सुलझाने का कोई काम करते तो आज यह स्थिति नहीं होती (**समय की घंटी**)

महोदय, मैं इस आन्दोलन की जड़ में जो कारण हैं वे बताना चाहता हूं। जो भारत की सवर्ण जातियां हैं वे सत्ता नहीं छोड़ना चाहती हैं। वे चारों ओर से देश में जहां से जुटेंगी, चाहेंगी एकाधिकार। वे सारे देश में वहां पहुंच गयीं और वहां भी सवर्ण जातियों ने सत्ता पर एकाधिकार कायम कर लिया और वहां के आदिवासी, पूरे आसाम की, अनुसूचित इडेड असम की जो मूल जाति है उसको उपेक्षित किया और यही उपेक्षा का कारण है कि आसाम खंड खंड टूटता रहा। आज बिहार में भी यही हालत है। बिहार में झारखंड आन्दोलन चल रहा है, यह चलेगा और जोर पकड़ेगा। क्यों पकड़ेगा? इसका कारण यह है कि... (**व्यवधान**)

**एक माननीय सदस्य** : आपका समर्थन है।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : मैं कह रहा हूं। आप सुनिये। समर्थन है... (**व्यवधान**) आप समझिए इसको। मैं कह रहा हूं कि 40-42 साल के बाद आज तक एक भी आदिवासी बिहार का मुख्य मंत्री क्यों नहीं बना। लेकिन जिस दिन झारखंड राज्य अलग हो जायेगा उसी दिन वहां का मुख्य मंत्री आदिवासी हो जायेगा। तो यह मूल बात है और यह जो राजनीतिक सत्ता की भूख दबे कुचले लोगों में जग रही है यही कारण है कि ये अलग राज्य की मांग करते हैं। महोदय, मैं इस सभा के माध्यम से केन्द्र सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं कि कम से कम बिहार में जो झारखंड आन्दोलन चल रहा है उसको देखते हुए वहां धारा 244 और अनुच्छेद 6 के मुताबिक एडवाइजरी बोर्ड बनाये और बिहार का उप-मुख्य मंत्री तो जल्दी हो किसी आदिवासी को बनाये। अगर सद्बुद्धि आ जाए, तो दिल्ली सरकार और बिहार सरकार खुद भी एक बात कर सकती है कि आप आदिवासी भाई तुम भी सारे बिहार की कुर्सी पर बैठ जाओ और समूचे बिहार का एक बार मुख्य मंत्री बनो, झारखंड का क्या बनना चाहते हो। जब यह भावना आएगी, आदिवासियों के दिमाग में भी यह बात आएगी कि सारा बिहार हमारा है। वे सोचते हैं कि बिहार में हमारा कोई स्थान नहीं है, हम पिछलग्गू हैं, टुकरखोर हैं, हमको कोई पूछने वाला नहीं है। (**समय की घंटी**)

इसलिए यह जो गहराई की बात उसमें मैं ले जाना चाहता हूं, महोदय। आज जो बोडो आन्दोलन है, उसको सुलझाने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को ईमानदारी से आगे आना चाहिए, जैसा कि भण्डारे साहब ने कहा कि बोडो लोग असम सरकार से बात नहीं करना चाहते हैं। ठीक है, अगर उनसे उनको गुस्सा है बात नहीं करना चाहते हैं, तो आप बात करिए। आप से बात करना चाहते हैं आप उनको मेहमान बनाकर रखते हैं, होटल में खिलाते-पिलाते हैं, तो ठीक है भाई आपकी ही बात सुनी जाए, लेकिन क्या आपको अच्छा लगता है कि शांति व्यवस्था पूरी भंग हो जाए, गाड़ियां बन्द हो जाएं, रेल पटरी उखड़ जाए? यही भाषा आपको अच्छी लगती है, तो आप यह भाषा सुनिये क्योंकि केन्द्रीय सरकार की आदत बिगड़ गई है। इतनी आदत बिगड़ गई है कि वह शांति की भाषा सुन ही नहीं सकती केन्द्रीय सरकार कौनसी भाषा सुनती है? लाल डेंग की भाषा वह सुनती है, वह अकाली लोगों की भाषा सुनती है, वह गांधी की भाषा सुनना भूल गई है और यही मूल कारण है.... (**व्यवधान**)

**श्री कमलेश भट्टाचार्य** (असम) आपने कभी गांधी की भाषा सुनकर.. (**व्यवधान**)

**श्री पुट्टपर्णा रामाकृष्ण** : महात्मा गांधी की भाषा भूल गये हैं, राजीव गांधी की भाषा जानते हैं।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : यह कैसे किये हो, उसका पूरा इतिहास मुझको मालूम है भट्टाचार्य साहब, यह बात मुझको मत बताइये।

तो मैं यह चाहता हूं कि आदरपूर्वक बोडो स्टूडेंटस को और बोडो जाति के जो नेता है, उनको केन्द्रीय सरकार आमंत्रित

वित करे और असम सरकार को भी बुलाये और निश्चित तौर पर उसका ऐसा राजनीतिक समाधान निकले कि उनको भी यह महसूस हो कि हमारा हिस्सा है और हमारी हैसियत के समाधान केन्द्रीय सरकार और राज्य सरकार भी करती है। उनकी राजसत्ता में हिस्सेदारी बढ़ाई जाए और कम से कम उप-मुख्य मंत्री तो तत्काल असम सरकार राजी हो जाएगी कि किसी बोडो जाति के आदमी को उप-मुख्य मंत्री बना दो ताकि उनको लगे कि हम पूरे असम के हिस्सेदार हैं, हम कोकड़ाझाड़ के ही एक नहीं हैं और एक-दो जिलों के ही नहीं हैं, इन्हीं जिलों में हम सिमटे हुए नहीं हैं, बल्कि हमारा जो राज्य है वह तो पूरी असम में हमारी हिस्सेदारी है, पूरे असम की सरकार में हमारी हिस्सेदारी है इस बात का जब उन्हें अहसास होने लगेगा, तो मैं समझता हूं कि अपने आप समस्या का समाधान होने लगेगा, और इसमें ज्यादा दिक्कत नहीं आ सकती है।

**उपसभापति** : आप कृपया अपना स्थान ग्रहण कीजिए।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : मैं तो अभी पांच मिनट ही बोला हूं।

**उपसभापति** : आप पांच मिनट बोले हैं, आपके हिसाब से कुछ गलत हो गया है। आपका बोलना 29 मिनट पर शुरू हुआ था। क्योंकि आपका समय लेट हो रहा है, सब चले जायेंगे, तो फिर आपका जो असली भाषण है, वह कौन सुनेगा ?

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : मैं तो अकेले आप रहेंगी तब भी मैं बोलता रहूंगा।

**उपसभापति** : मैं तो बैठी रहूंगी रात भर, मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं है, पर दूसरे लोगों को तो अपने घर जाना है।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : मैं एक मिनट में खत्म करता हूं। मैं इस बहस के माध्यम से केन्द्रीय सरकार का ध्यान देश के तमाम आदिवासियों की ओर खींचना चाहता हूं कि उनके अंदर जो भूख जग रही है, उसकी ओर उदारतापूर्वक देखने की अपील करता हूं। यह मध्य प्रदेश में भी शुरू होने वाला है।

**उपसभापति** : अब आप बैठ जाइये मध्य प्रदेश और बिहार में मत जाइये।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : 80 फीसदी आबादी है आदिवासियों की और उनका जो शेयर है, उनको राजसत्ता में शेयर नहीं मिलता है। ... (व्यवधान) मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि आपको लगता है कि बोडो की समस्या देश से अलग-थलग है।... ऐसा नहीं है एक प्रतीक है, एक निशानी है।

**उपसभापति** : वह आप बोल चुके हैं, रिपीट मत करिए।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : इसलिए मैं चाहता हूं कि इस समस्या के समाधान में केन्द्रीय सरकार को ईमानदारी से आगे बढ़ना चाहिए और यह हाईड एण्ड सीक गेम, आंख मिचौनी का खेल नहीं खेलना चाहिए जैसे कि पंजाब में खेला और स्थिति बिगड़ गई तो अब उनके हाथ से बाहर हो गई। ऐसी स्थिति दूसरे राज्यों में न होने दें।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ, मैं धन्यवाद करता हूं।

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN**: Shri Dharanidhar Basumatari. He is going to retire. Perhaps if he does not come back this will be his last contribution. So please don't interrupt him.

**DR. NAGEN SAIKIA**: Today for the last time we shall try to interrupt.

**SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI**: Today's speech is my last speech. Don't interrupt. If you interrupt....

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN**: Nobody will interrupt.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: Madam, this Calling Attention motion is purely concerned with me because I am also a member of the Bodo community. It is very painful for me to take part in this debate. If I do not take part in this debate my Bodo people will think that I represented them here unnecessarily. How has this agitation started? This has started from feeling of negligence of the Bodo community. It also started from the feeling that their demands are not being met. They do not know where to stay and where to go. That is the feeling they are having in their minds. Madam, you are aware that Assam is multi-lingual State. In this State no community form majority. These rulers, the so-called Assamese are also not in majority.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Are you not an Assamese?

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: I am an Assamese but you do not accept.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: Why did this feeling come? Why did this attitude come? It came because they were neglected. Madam, for employment, Government do not follow any norm. Even in the field of employment reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, they do not follow any norm. For example, 37 posts of ASI were advertised for recruitment and not a single candidate belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes was recruited. I know about this thing because I was connected with this recruitment. They have filled up many clerical posts but they have not selected a single candidate from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. At the same time, you know Madam this AGP agitated for six years in order to drive out the minority in the name of foreigners. They do not know anything about the Tribal Bodo Cacharis. They do not know anything about the reserved forests. These forests are very wide in Assam. Those reserved forests are being looked after by the Bodo community. In lieu of that they are given the right to cultivation without land revenue. They think that Bodo people encroaching upon the forests and has started evicting my people who for ages were inhabiting in the forests as forest villagers.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: That is the concern of the Central Government and not the State Government.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: Our people who were looking after 7000 acres of central agricultural farms they were nearby the tiger preservation forests. They have not followed any norm. They evicted them in large numbers and they came to Guwahati on protest and wanted to meet the chief Minister, and from Guwahati city they went to Dispur which is about 10 kms just to submit their memorandum. But they have not cared to receive the memorandum. Is it not insulting? They stayed there in front of the State Secretariat for the whole day in the sun but not a single Minister came out to receive the memorandum and to talk to them. They did not shout. They did not shout in any slogan. The only thing they wanted was that somebody should come and receive their memorandum. But they did not come. The Home Minister, Mr. Brighu Kumar Phukan said to be oppose to talk with them. The Chief Minister of Assam said to be willing for talk and at end they sent junior tribal State Minister for this purpose. He is also a Bodo. He came out and started talking to them. They said, "you are also a Bodo and we are also Bodos. We do not want to talk to you. Let the Home Minister or the Chief Minister come." He said, "I am

empowered to talk with you" Then they put certain questions to him to which he could not reply. When he could not reply to their questions, they felt insulted. They felt that they have been insulted even by their own representative who happens to be a junior State Minister in the Government. From then, this agitation is going on. Who started this agitation in Assam? Ever since this Government was formed, they started agitation against the Central Government and started organised bandhs after bandhs. They agitated against the Central institutions. You know, Madam, there were four parties. These four parties got amalgamated into AGP. But when they saw that without any agitation, they cannot run the administration, all these students in the name of AASU came out and started agitation against the Central Government. It is they who initiated the agitation against the Central Government and it was followed by the tribals students. There was news about a bomb blast in the industrial town of Bongaigaon and Cinema Hall in the Barpeta. These were not the work of the ABSU but these were of the ALFA. It is their own Organisation... (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt. When you get a chance, you speak. When you get a chance to speak, you can speak on that. I will give you a chance to speak. (*Interruptions*). Please sit down. Don't record what Mrs. Chakravarty speaks. (*Interruptions*). Don't interrupt the House.

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: So, Madam, this was not done by Bodos. As regards population, they do not know what is population. Actually speaking, the Assamese-speaking people who claim to be real Assamese are only 27 per cent of the population. And Muslims are 28 per cent. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY:*

SHRI DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: They should not forget that. They want to drive out the minority in the name of foreigners. They fought on this issue. An accord was arrived at. Now they have formed the Government also. The accord was mainly to decide the foreigners issue and uptil now they defected only 67 persons. The year as foreigners. (*Interruptions*) It was said in the House itself. It was supported by Mr. Upendra who is their aid and he spoke very highly of us. Just to cover their inability, they are saying all misleading things. It was found to be only 67 who had been detected up to now... (*Interruptions*). It was announced by the Prime Minister himself when he visited Assam. To cover their inefficiency, they are blaming the Bodos. Bodos are a very simple folk as I am. Perhaps they are simpler. And they are fighting against these Bodos. We Bodos ruled Assam for ages. I would like to tell the House that these people who are in Assam today were recruited by us. (*Interruptions*). How can they claim that Assam belongs to those people alone who claim to be Assamese? At the same time, I do not feel neglected. I have never said so either. But the indigenous, indigent, simple Bodo people feel that they are neglected. They feel that their grievances are not looked into. Naturally, they agitate for the redressal of their grievances. After all, the process of agitation was first started in the State by the AGP. They fought for six years. They did not allow us to file our nomination papers in 1980. People will not forget that. In their face I tell them, we are awaiting for the elections. They have not fulfilled what they promised.

Coming to certain other details, Madam, I have had the privilege of attending two Committees with the Chief Minister. These are the Tri-

*Not recorded.

[Shri Dharanidhar Basumatari]

bal Development Council and the Tribal Development Authority. It was found that 19 second-hand tractors had been purchased by the Government. (*Interruptions*). I asked the Chief Minister why they were lying idle there. I asked the other MLAs...(*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you do not allow him to speak, he will say that even in this House you are not allowing a Bodo to make his point.

SHRI DHARNIDHAR BASUMATARI: I asked another Member whether they were workable. Tractors costing more than two and a half lakh rupees each are lying idle till today. Why should they do like this? Why should they drain the exchequer like this? Funds alloted for tribal development projects are spent on things like this. For nation-building projects, projects which will help the development of the State, funds are not granted for misuse. But they are spent on useless things like this. I asked officer in the presence of the Chief Minister why 19 second-hand old tractors had been purchased. (*Interrupt*). The Chief Minister told me you ignore these 19 tractors. (*time-bell rings*) Madam, there are so many things I wanted to say. Up till now these tractors are lying idle. Finally what I want to say is that there is no question of majority. The aim of the Government is to drive out non-Assamese speaking people. Now I tell that Government in the next election they will not get votes from the minority communities, they will not get votes from tribals, they will get no votes from non-Assamese speaking people. Therefore, they should behave properly if they want to come back to power, if they want to win. But it is very difficult. I have no jealousy if they win. But it is not going to be easy for them. I advise them to behave properly. (*time-bell rings*) Madam, I am very grateful that they are not interrupting, you have listened to me patiently. Thank you.

7 P.M.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Madam, I compliment the honourable Member on his completion of the term and I wish him to stay a come back.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now Mrs. Bijoya Chakravarty.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Madam, I also wish the honourable Member another term.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: ... that you have continued interaction

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Madam, it is very unfortunate that at the end of this Session stand here to speak about the emi problem of Assam, in this nation forum. First I want to rebut certa charges that were levelled against n Government by the honourable Sh Bhandare and the honourable Sh Basumatari. For the information the House I want to say that the d mand of AASU on the question language has been satisfied by t Government of Assam, the Gover ment of Assam has implemented Bo as an associate language and the la guage is already there in force...B in force as a language in Bongaiga district.

Secondly, as regards the tribal are and tribal population, when AGP Go ernment came into power in Assa in 1985-86, they spent quite a ge amount of money on tribal develo ment. For tribal areas and tri development the Government Assam spent Rs. 46.11 crores in 19 86, in 1986-87 Rs. 57.26 crores, 1987-88 Rs. 58.72 crores and in 19 89 Rs. 62.61 crores. This shows t the AGP Government has been slo ly and gradually been increasing t expenditure, it has been spendi more and more, on the tribal are for preserving their culture. T AGP Government has done ma things which have been listed in t memorandum given by the Gove ment of Assam to the Central Go ernment. Recently AGP Governm

convened in the month of March a meeting of all parties including Congress-I and the views of AGP Government have been appreciated and supported by the all-party convention there. So there is no question that AGP Government has in anyway undermined the culture and tradition of Bodo people or of any minority section. It is not correct to make that charge. The statistics given by the honourable Shri Basumatari regarding the ethnic population of Assam is also not correct. Because of the time constraint I shall not go into the details of it. Assam is a State having a colourful population. This tribal movement for a separate land is not a new one. It has started in the AGP Government. It had started long back, 30 years ago. It had started in 1967. So all these forty years of independence, forty years of rule by...

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE: From 1967 to 1989 it does not make 40 years!

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I have finished that sentence. I am coming to the next sentence.

It is forty years since we achieved independence and we have Indian Government for forty years. Assam has been ruled by the Congress for a very long time and the Congress(I) rule has been there for a long time. About the tribal culture, I want to say that the tribals have been there and are there now. The honourable Minister is there now sitting. Whenever I speak, he does not listen probably because I am a woman. The tribals have been there during the past forty years of the Congress rule also. So, I do not know why they have started this agitation. I do not know what these people have done for the Bodo people all these years. I think they are only playing with fire. It is true that the tribals have been exploited. But they are exploited throughout the country, not in Assam alone. It is true that they have their own grievances. It is true in the case of the tribals in Assam and it is true in the case of the tribals throughout the country. Therefore, there is no point in saying this about the tribals in Assam only. Assam itself is exploited. It was exploited by the Britishers and it was exploited by the Congress at the Centre also. But now we want a peaceful settlement of this problem. It is a human problem. But, unfortunately, not a single member of the Congress (I) Party has condemned the violence in Assam. The extremists killed so many innocent people. The victims belonged not only to the general community, but also to the tribal population. They killed the tribal youths, they killed the tribal women and they killed the tribal aged people also because they were not joining them in their violent activities. So, it is very unfortunate that the Congress (I) has not condemned the violent activities in Assam.

Assam is facing one disaster after another and the present movement, the present tribal movement, led by the ABSU and by certain other young men, it is well known, is geared and engineered by the Congress(I) at the Centre. I want to prove my point by posing certain questions.

Who arranged the secret meeting of the ABSU leaders at Calcutta with the Home Ministry's officials that was held on the 5th February? The brief was prepared by Mr. Buta Singh, the Union Home Minister. Again, a few days back, they called a meeting of these people in Calcutta. Some time back, Assamese people comprising tribals and ex-tea garden workers and others were murdered, were butchered, in the Assam-Nagaland border by Nagaland people at the instance of the Nagaland Chief Minister. Then, the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh and the Chief Minister, of Meghalaya also joined the chorus, at the instance of the Centre, of demand for the imposition of President's Rule in Assam. You can see how all the Congress(I) forces are joining hands together to destabilise the State. The stability of the State of Assam is in danger. They do not care for the in-

[Shri Bijoya Chakravarty]

tegrity of the country and they do not care for any development in the country. They are simply thinking of capturing power in Assam just as they captured power in Mizoram. In Tripura, in order to throw out the CPM Government there, they joined hands with the TNV and the TUJS. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi joined hands with these forces to throw out the Government there. This is very unfortunate. What is happening in Assam will engulf the whole country and it will threaten the very existence of this country. I want to ask the Minister why he is silent over the allegation of the Assam Home Minister, Shri B. K. Phukan regarding giving shelter to an ABSU member in Delhi. I also want to ask who gave shelter to the ABSU people in Siliguri. Then, there is a charge—it has appeared in the newspapers also—that there are some international agencies which are financing this movement and I want a statement on this from the honourable Minister. And I want to ask: Is the Centre aware that foreign agencies are funding the insurgency in the North east? Have any of the front organisations of these funding agencies been identified? If yes, which are these?

Secondly, is the Centre aware that highly inflammatory and seditious speeches have been made by various leaders of backward communities, including, as reported in a certain magazine? Has the Centre initiated any action against those papers which made allegations like these?

And I want to put this: Is the Government aware of an international plot to destabilise the nation, sponsored by certain church organisations, including the Christian Conference of Asia, the World Council of Churches, which are attempting to exploit the sentiments of minority communities, backward classes and tribals to their nefarious ends?

Madam, I will only say one more sentence. There is a foreign invasion on tl economy of Assam. We know these things. Secondly, this viole movement is also threatening to te Assam to pieces. So here I would r quest the hon. Home Minister th he should try to find out a positi solution instead of giving a handle these people. The pattern of t Bodo movement speaks somethi else. I, therefore, urge upon the di ferent political parties and the Ce tral Government in particular to t to settle it before it is too late.

That's all. Thank you.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTA CHARJEE: Respected Madam Chai person, as a student of English liter ture, when I look at the Bodo proble from close quarters, I am remind of the famous saying of W.B. Yeat

> Things fall apart, the centre ca not hold. The blood-dimmed tide let loose Upon the world and ever where the Ceremony of innocen is drowned. The best lack all co viction and the worst are full passionate intensity.

Madam, respected Bijoya Didi h levelled allegations against us th Congress has not condemned violenc in Bodo movement. In no uncertai terms I myself, on my own behalf an on behalf of my party, do condem any sort of violence committed the Bodo extremists. Madam, m State president, Mr. Tarun Gogoi, ou respected Prime Minister Rajiv Gand hi, our respected Minister Sh Santosh Mohan Dev, all have condem ned violence of the Bodo extremist I do not know why she is not satisfie even after condemnation by all lu minaries. If anything is left, we ar going to do it again, and once again

Madam, I would like to make it ver clear that we do not want any furthe division of Assam. We have alread suffered a tremendous loss. Whateve the settlement there may be, we wan a negotiated settlement within th present geographical limits of th State of Assam.

Madam, one of the tribal leaders, tribal Minister in Mr. Profulla Mohunta's Cabinet has resigned, making an allegation that the tribal people of Assam are not getting a fair deal from this Government. There could be no more eloquent testimony to the fact as to how they are dealing with the tribal people.

Respected Bijoya Chakrabarty has quoted figures to prove that they are not following a policy of unabashed economic discrimination against the tribal people, especially the Bodos. I would like my Didi just not to remember the old saying that "Figures do not lie". I would like her just to know the new saying, the latest inthing, in Irwing Wallace's "Her Document", where it is quoted, "Liars also figure". "Figures don't lie." It is an old saying. But in Irwing Wallace's 'Her Document' there is another thing which is the latest saying. "Liars also figure". (*Interruptions*) In order to keep the record straight, I would like to say that Bodo movement is nothing but a replica of the AASU movement. There is a very famous saying: "Those who don't learn from history are condemned to repeat it". What is this? They are speaking about the arms. The Chief Minister has spoken about the arms being supplied from outside the State. What about the murder of the I.A.S. Officer, Mr. Parthsarthy? They know. I do not want to mention it here. Who is the prime suspect in the case? Once you start violence, there cannot be any end to it. (*Interruptions*) Once you start violence, there cannot be any end to it.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: It is *sub judice* It should *not* be discussed.

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE: Madam, you referred to it that Bodo was accepted as an associate language. I want to thank you for speaking the truth. But just to refresh your memory, I would like to tell you that Bodo was introduced as an associate language not by the AGP, but by the Congress Government under the leadership of the then Chief Minister, Mr. Hiteshwar Saikia. It is on record. It was introduced at the time of Mr. Hiteshwar Saikia. When he was the Chief Minister of Assam, he made this announcement. He conceded it.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Who implemented it? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE: Madam, what has happened? This AGP Government is failing on all fronts—economic front and administrative front. If one goes through the records or if one would just follow the records of political murders, one would just shudder and he will be at a loss to understand as to what depth this Administration has gone down. What a chaos the Administration has brought about on the economic front? I want all-round well-being of the State. Whatever be the Government, whatever be the political party, Assam is my State. I am interested in the all-round economic development of the State. If Prafulla Kumar Mohanta does well for Assam, it is well. I will be the happiest person. But God is not in his heaven and everything is not right in the State of Assam. I am just saying one thing and it is that it is an operation 'cover-up'. They are trying to put the blame squarely on the Central Government, trying to name persons saying that he is responsible for this or that that person is responsible for that just to divert the attention of the people of Assam from the burning economic issues. It is for this purpose that they are following this policy. It just reminds me of the Essay 'Leaning Tower' by Virginia Woolfe where she says: "The loud sounds of the school room boys; Scapegoat bleats; It is not I, Sir, it is the other boy". They are not properly managing the whole thing but putting the blame squarely

[Shri Kamalendu Bhattacharjee]

on the Centre. Shri Prafulla Kumar Mohanta, the Chief Minister, sometimes says: "Who is responsible—the Centre". Today it has come out in the press. He says that the missionaries are responsible. I am at a loss to understand whether he is a great visionary.

Madam, I want a negotiated settlement. We condemn violence. But we also condemn State violence. If any sort of State violence is perpetrated on the innocent Bodo people, I condemn it in no uncertain terms. I condemn Bodo violence. We are believers in the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. We are believers in the principle of non-violence. Yesterday I made a point here. I believe sincerely that Gandhism is not only for export. It is also for internal consumption. We, the Congress people, believe in the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi. We condemn violence. But we also condemn State terrorism. Women are being tortured. Innocent people are being tortured. If there are guilty persons, you hang them. I have nothing to do with them. I would lend all my support to the AGP Government. I would lend support because this is a problem of the whole State of Assam. You deal with the criminals ruthlessly. You get all support from us. But please for heaven's sake, do not harass the innocent people, do not torture the innocent people because this will lead to further complications. As you are interested in the well-being of Assam, as you are interested in the economic development of Assam, I as a Member from Assam, I as an inhabitant of Assam am equally interested in the well-being of the State, in the development of the State.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I was put in jail for three years...

SHRI KAMALENDU BHATTACHARJEE: Madam, with these words, I conclude.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: During the Assam movement I was thrown to the jungles...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Hon. Minister.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB): Madam, it is a cricket match with a running commentary.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I was thrown to the jungles. I was banished to the jungle infested with tigers, lions and bears. And now he is speaking of harassment.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Have you been thrown to the tigers?

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Yes, I have been thrown in to the mouth of a tiger...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Then you are stronger than the tiger to come back to Rajya Sabha. Mr. Minister.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Madam, I have heard with rapt attention the speeches of the hon. Members of this august House, both from the ruling side and from the Opposition. The Bodo movement, as is very rightly said by many of the Members both from the Opposition and from the ruling party, has assumed to a dimension that it is no more a cause of worry for a particular State, it is a cause of worry for the whole nation. And looking at it with this perspective, the Government of India has always viewed that the situation has to be contained very firmly, and the situation must not escalate.

Shri Mishra who is not here now has said in his speech that the Centre comes into action when the situation goes in a violent way, and before that, they do not act and the do not take any action. Some other Members have alleged not only that

but that the Centre takes advantage of the situation and tries to topple the Government, taking the situation as an advantage and thereby they want to do away with the non-Congress (I) Government.

Madam, at the expense of sharing a confidential letter which the Government of India wrote to the Government of Assam, I would like to go on the record of the House to prove that as far back as on 27th February, 1987, the Minister of Home, Government of India had written to the Government of Assam regarding the seriousness of the Bodo movement because this Bodo movement, as is very rightly said by many Members, has its inception in 1966 with the creation of the PTCA and subsequently with the division into UTNLF and the ABSU. And ABSU was also divided into two groups—Upen Brahma group and Suren Brahma group.

Madam, I would like to read that letter dated February 27, 1987 written by the Home Minister to the Chief Minister of Assam where we have clearly said the position which has come today may arise and what action the Government of Assam should take. The letter reads:

"Dear Shri Mahanta,

As you are aware, we have been drawing the attention of the State Government towards the growing discontentment among the plains tribals in Assam in the context of the demand emanating from the PTCA for the constitution of a separate State/Union Territory known as Udayachal. The matter has been engaging our attention, and we felt that this problem should engage the serious attention of the State Government. The Central Government have made their stand clear on the demands of separation that we are not in favour of further reorganisation of Assam. However, it cannot be denied that the plains tribals have a number of grievances. While not overlooking the general backwardness of the State of Assam as a whole, it is evident that the plains tribals are at a much lower level of development as compared to the general population of Assam. Keeping all the consideration in view, it is extremely important that special attention is paid to the felt-needs of the plains tribals in the matter of development and tribal aspirations and anxieties about their land and culture so as to eliminate the growing feeling of the alienation and insecurity among them ..."

"It is our considered view that only vigorous, sustained and conscious efforts in this regard and a greater degree of involvement, of participation by the tribals in the matters affecting them and the sense of belongingness are likely to difuse the demand for a separate administrative unit being repeatedly voiced by the PTCA. It is felt that a beginning in the direction could be made by making the Assam Tribal Development Board a more effective and representative body. Among the measures that may be considered is holding of election of eight elected members under the Assam Tribals Development Authority Act, 1983, and acceptance of the demand for having an elected Vice-Chairman. Greater attention is no doubt required to be paid to the economic development of the plains tribals to reduce the inter-regional disparities. Demands have also been made from time to time for setting up a Central University in the form of the plains tribal area in the north bank, the tribal dance cultural academy, ITI, for plains tribals, etc. Attending to some of the demands might help to diffuse the situation. We suggest that you may like to initiate a dialogue with the PTCA on the foregoing matters and various sensitive issues like language, eviction,

[Shri Santosh Moman Dev]

etc. which seem to be agitating them. The Central Government on their part would be too willing to extend assistance, if necessary,. I trust this matter will receive your urgent attention and you will kindly keep us posted about the further development in the matter."

This letter was written to the Chief Minister of the State on the 27th February, 1987. Now allegations have been brought here that the Central Government is sitting idle, that the Central Government and the Congress (I) is trying to take advantage of the situation so that the situation escalates that the Central Government is maintaining a dossier of the State Government and trying to topple.

Madam, not only that. After that on 17-5-1988, the Minister of State Home the person who was before me in my chair, Mr. Chintamani Panigrahi, went to Assam, had discussions along with the Assam Government, in the presence of the PTCA and certain decisions were taken and not only that, after that by another letter on July 6, 1988, I do not want to read the whole letter, it is a long letter, in which other Assam Accord things and killings in Assam of various shades of people are mentioned, I will read only one part of that letter. In that letter in para 6, about the tribals, we had been suggesting for around a year and a half that the points already agreed upon should be sincerely implemented so that the feeling of neglect is removed and to initiate a dialogue with the moderate elements. We have noted the political initiative taken by you recently to diffuse the situation created by continuing agitation among the people. These efforts would need to be stepped up in order to isolate the militants and other extremist elements.

In spite of the categorical suggestions, in spite of the categorical action by the Central Government to diffuse the situation, now allegation has been brought by Mr. Saikia th the Chief Minister has written to t Prime Minister, the Chief Minist has written to the Home Minister a no action has been taken. I am sor to say that Mr. Saikia has not be briefed fully. Recently, in this mon only when your Chief Minister m the Prime Minister and the Hon Minister, we have again reiterat that only administrative action w not solve the problem, political a tion is needed. We made it clear th the Central Government on their ow is not willing to intervene in t matter like we did not intervene i the GNLF movement. Mr. Dip Ghosh has said, yes, initially we we reluctant. Such allegations are a ways brought against Congress Go ernments, the Central Governmer It has been alleged during the GNL movement. It has been alleged o other occasions also. I would like say to the hon. Members of th august House that you have to jud the Central Government and Co gress Party from its record, no from some paper news, not from son insinuations of certain immature pe ple who have become Ministers no in a State which is in a very b shape. Madam, Congress had to a their elected Government and t Chief Minister to resign and call for an election in order to implem the Assam accord. Our friends fro the AGP have forgotten. They fo get that Congress-I had to ask the elected Chief Minister in Mizoram resign and make room for Lalden to become the Chief Minister, a subsequently to have an election which also Congress lost. Congress a party has never taken regional i sues as the main issue but nation interest has always been uppermo in the mind of the Congress, and f national interest and for national i tegration, we have never hesitat to sacrifice a government or sacrifi a leader, because we have alwa taken national perspective as the ma issue before us. This is the sta of the Congress. You have to jud Congress from that point of vie

Now, allegation has been brought before this House....

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : आप कांग्रेस की ओर से बोल रहे हैं कि सरकार की ओर से बोल रहे हैं... (**व्यवधान**)...

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Allegation has been brought by the hon. Members against Congress. Lok Dal Member has suggested to me that I should ask the Bihar Government to have a Deputy Chief Minister from the Adivasis. He has suggested that I should ask the Bihar Government to take a Deputy Chief Minister from Adivasis. If he can speak to that length, can I not defend my party from which I became an M.P. and subsequently a Minister? I am not saying about anything which has not been mentioned in this House. I am going only on the point that was raised... (*Interruptions*).

**उपसभापति** : राम अवधेश जी नियम के अनुसार पीठासीन अधिकारी की अनुमति लिये बिना आप अपनी सीट के अलावा दूसरी सीट से नहीं बोल सकते हैं। कृपया आप अपनी सीट पर चले जाइये। जब हम आपको अनुमति देंगे तब आप आइये... (**व्यवधान**)... जब अनुमति देंगे तब बोलिएगा। यहां बैठेंगे तो बिल्कुल चुप बैठिये।

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: An allegation has been brought here that Congress has not condemned violence... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Minister is not yielding. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Again, Madam, she is dragging me into certain things. I had kept that paper away and now I have to take that paper to satisfy her. She is saying about tribals, tribal interests .... (*Interruptions*). Yes, you have just now said. I would like to share with the House a press release given by one of the Tribal Ministers who resigned, and what he is saying. (*Interruptions*). Mr. Saikia, your Member has just now tried to justify. Let the House know. Mr. Tarang who resigned from the AGP ... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWA BANDHU GUPTA (Delhi): Madam, the point is, it is already past 7.30, and if you go by the rules, can anybody speak without taking your permission and without the Minister yielding? If the Minister yields, it is O.K.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister is not yielding. My ruling is that nobody is going to speak without my permission.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: I would like to share a news and a press release given by Mr. Tarang after resignation. He says in his letter that the State Government has not correctly handled the movement launched by the All Bodo Students Union, that is, ABSU. He says "You never thought of solving the problem politically when the ABSU at times tried and failed to meet you when the movement was peaceful. The administration also turned into disorder with the officers not receiving proper instructions and orientation to tackle the problems."....

> "Many people know, the police had killed innocent and helpless people coldbloodedly in the name of encounters with the police."

This is not my statement. This is the statement of the Minister who had resigned. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mrs. Chakravarty, please sit down. Mr. Minister, you need not yield. You can continue.

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: Why did Mr. V. P. Singh resign? Why did Mr. Arun Singh resign? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Madam, it has been alleged that the Congress has never condemned. I would like to quote...

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: May I just interrupt?

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: After my reply, you can ask any question and I will answer; of course, if the Chair allows. It is upto the Chair.

On the 18th February, 1989, there was a newsitem. It says: 'Gogoi refutes'. The paper is 'Sentinel'. It is an Assam paper. It says: 'Mr. Gogoi reiterated that he does not want any further division of Assam and called upon the State Government to initiate discussions for a peaceful solution of the problem. While he condemned the spate of violence in the tribal belt, he also said that mere suppression of the movement by force would not lead to any solution.' This is in an Assam paper, not in any Delhi paper. This is a clear stand. Not only that.

The Home Minister has clearly pointed out in the Consultative Committee meeting about the Central Government's stand. The Home Ministry issued a Press release. Many Members from the Opposition commented, why did you talk to the ABSU and why not with the Assam Government. Madam, it is most unfortunate. As a Minister of State for Home, whenever anybody comes to us, I try to meet them and get to know their problems and views. There is no denying the fact the ABSU leaders, on two occasions, met me and I told them about the Central Government's stand. We have told them that they should have negotiations with the Assam Government.

An allegation has been made that the Central Government is talking to the ABSU in Calcutta. This is not true. This is not a fact. I have checked it up and I categorically deny it. It is also not true that police has been deployed in North Benga to train the ABSU people. If some Christian missionaries are involved it is for the State Government t look into it. It is their concern an they should take action. If they ar taking shelter in West Bengal, the should write to the West Bengal Go vernment and the West Bengal Go ernment should take appropriat action.

In regard to deployment of para military forces, it has been allege by Mrs. Chakravarty that we ha not given sufficient forces. Forty-nir Central companies are deployed Assam. After Punjab, this is th highest number which has been de ployed. It is up to the Sta Government to deploy them effec tively and for good reasons. No only that. They have asked fo Army assistance as a standb During the Assam movement, th deployment of the CRPF was co demned. Army was never deployed If Army was to be deployed earli it was condemned. Now, they ha asked for Army assistance We ha not said 'No'. But we have said th the Army should be used only whe it is a must. Of course, it can utilised for flagmarches. We have s that it can be kept as a standby. T Bodos have called for a 300-ho *bandh*. They have again asked Army help. Only yesterday we ga our consent. But we said that should be kept as a stand-by.

We have not told them that th should, under any circumstance, cede to the demands of the ABS In regard to the point as to why they come down from 92 demands only 3 demands, it is up to the AB to decide. In regard to these th demands, many people here h given certain suggestions. We h given our views. When the Mini

of State, Mr. Chintamani Panigrahi, was there, our views were made known. I do not want to confuse it by saying it again because it may complicate the issue. Our views have been conveyed to the State Government. I am sure, they will take care of the situation and they will look into this particular problem. Now it has been alleged that the Prime Minister has made statement in the NSUI conference. What statement did the Prime Minister make? The Prime Minister has said that the North-Eastern States are suffering from shortage of food and that it is the Central Government's duty to see that foodgrains move in the North-Eastern States. Subsequently there was a hue and cry in the country that the Prime Minister had threatened the State Government with President's rule. The Prime Minister has clarified his stand in a press conference in Calcutta where he went for the panchayat elections. Sir, the Chief Ministers of the North-Eastern States met and requested him that the whole North-Eastern region was suffering from shortage of essential commodities. The total requirement of the essential commodities in the North-Eastern States is around 2,40,000 tonnes. I have got the data. I do not want to give all these data and take the time of the House. As against that requirement, we have not been able to achieve much. Not only that. Last time the whole of the North-Eastern region suffered in the rainy reason because of the shortage of foodgrains. At the instance of the Prime Minister, Mr. Sukh Ram went to Shillong, called all the State Governments and decided that at any time two months' stock should be reserved in Assam so that it is made available to any State at any time. Now, what is wrong in the Prime Minister saying that essential commodities must be moved and that it is the duty of the Central Government to look into it? There is nothing wrong. This is not threatening with imposition of President's rule. There was a hue and cry. The way the Opposition is asking for President's rule and the way the Assam Government Ministers and MPs are trying suggests, I think, that they are willing to go out of the State Government because they cannot manage it. Mr. Kamalendu Bhattacharjee has said that it is in a bad shape. I do not want to go into that.

But, I want to say one thing. Mr. Saikia has asked, 'Why are you bringing in an analogy between the Assam movement and the ABSU movement?" We have never brought any analogy. I agree with him, the Assam movement was about the foreigners' issue, and the ABSU movement is for a statehood which we do not agree. But can Mr. Saikia deny that during the Assam movement the Assam agitationists refused to talk to the State Government. Not only during the Congress time but also during the Janata time when Mr. Morarji Desai called them for discussion in Delhi, they said that all national parties were irrelevant. Is it not a fact that the Central Government, when the Congress party came to power in Assam, have allowed discussion directly with the Central Government in Delhi? (*Interruptions*)

Who has given this lesson to the ABSU boys? You have created your own Frankenstein. It is you who have given that lesson to them. So, naturally they will play. Is it not a fact that Kokkrajhar was also one of the places where the AASU movement was there? And these boys are in ABSU. So, it is easy to say.

I must make it clear that the Central Government at no stage has given encouragement to anybody. No Central Government Ministers are involved, and no Central Government officials are involved. Whatever we are doing, we are doing at the request of the State Government. Yes, memorandum comes to us. We have to accept the memorandum.

[Shri Santosh Mohan Dev]

Mr. Bhandare raised a question. I do not want to go into it. Otherwise, it will be unpalatable to the AGP Members who are sitting here.

I have got a list of persons who have been murdered during this Government time. Some of them have been taken by the CBI. Some of them have given to the State Government. In certain cases arrests were made. I have got the names. I have got memoranda numbering 15 from various organisations from Kokrajhar alleging State atrocities. I do not know whether it is correct or not. In my last speech also I have said, we condemn violence. We also request that if there is any truth... *(Interruptions)* I have said these are allegations. We have sent it to the State Government and requested them that if there is any truth in it, they should see that redressal action is taken. I am not telling that it is true. But such allegations have been made, and these allegations have to be enquired into.

Madam, before I conclude, without going into the details, I would like to say that this Government is very much worried and unhappy about what is happening in Assam We strongly suggested that a negotiated settlement should be there. But in order to keep the record straight, I would like to say that the Central Government is not in favour of any further division of Assam.

This has been stated in Parliament several times on various occasions and this stand has been reiterated in the Home Ministry's Consultative Committee meeting by me and also by the Home Minister. The Central Government is against the practice of violence by any section of the people anywhere irrespective of the cause for which it is resorted to. We always believe and have proved in our action in the past that all problems, including economic, political and social, can be solved by negotiations. To that extent we are not endorsing the violent path which has been taken by the Bodo agitators. We condemn violence in all spheres. We are always ready to aid and advise any State Government in curbing the violent activities arising in their respective States. We have helped the Government of Assam and will continue to help them in their endeavour to control violence. But at the same time the respective Governments have to tackle violence not by mere law and order procedures, but also by combining other methods which are available to them from time to time. The Central Government has always offered its good offices whenever the State Government requires during the crises arising in their respective States. We still stand committed to our advisory role. So far as the State subjects are concerned, it is for the Government of Assam to avail our services. We are very worried about the situation obtaining in Assam. We are getting from time to time allegations that in the name of law and order police atrocities have been let loose on a particular community *viz.* the Bodos. While we feel that anti-social elements should be controlled firmly, yet these should not result in harassment of any particular community giving them a feeling that the entire community is undesirable. We would like the Government of Assam to take note of this particular aspect, which is not only important in the larger interest of the State, but also from the point of view of the present law and order position.

Lastly, it has been the goal of the Central Government everywhere in the country to achieve an accelerated development in the areas inhabited by all backward communities, including various tribes. Not only are we trying to allocate higher priorities and resources for the purpose in our planning process, but also are impressing upon the State Government to evolve administrative strategy by which the sense of participation can be given to the backward communities. They

have to be convinced that they are not deprived in the process of development. This feeling can only be brought about when the State Government makes certain concrete proposals and takes active interest in the development of the backward communities and also achieves results to that effect. It is the policy of the Centre not to interfere in a matter like this. We have not done so in the past, and we will not do it in future unless and until the State Government requests for our good offices.

Before I conclude, I would like to say one thing. Mr. Gurupadaswamy is not here. He has made certain sweeping statements. I am very sorry that a senior leader like him has made such sweeping statements. Subsequently he said: "I hope these statements which I made are not correct." I say that Assam is part and parcel of India. Assam is as good as any State in India. We do not look after some non-Congress(I). States with one attitude and the Congress(I) States with another attitude. We have not given any help to any agitationist. We have not given any help of arms to the Bodos. Arms which have been captured from the Bodos are mostly those which are made locally or which were snatched away from the Assam Police or the Assam Forest Guards. What Mr. Saikia and some other hon. Members have said is that sophisticated guns have been supplied to them. We have not got any information on it. Of course, the State Government will be able to say better because our CRPF is under their command. I fully disagree with Mr. Gurupadaswamy. This sort of statement will not help us to defuse the situation. Rather it will create more unhappines. I fully share the views of Mr. Basumatari, who made his last speech, provided he comes back. I hope Mr. Saikia and Mrs. Bijoya Chakravarty want him to come back. I don't know whether there is an understanding between them. Then he might come back. But I appreciate his feelings. He is a Bodo. What he has said, was out of emotion, but it is a very good thing that as a Bodo he said clearly standing in this House that he is also against separation of Assam. This is a very important thing which should go on record in the House.

Lastly, with all politeness at my command, I cannot oblige the hon. Member from Lok Dal to give the post of Deputy Chief Ministership in Assam as well as in Bihar to a Tribal candidate because it is entirely a matter of the AGP in Assam and the Congress party in Bihar. So I refuse to oblige him. But the suggestion that he has given, I think, the Press will carry it and they might act upon it. As I said, this debate has been very fruitful from the point of view that the nation will know what is the real situation in Bodo land. This situation can only be defused if the AGP Government goes in the right manner because my personal feeling is that the six years agitation by the AASU has taken that State back by ten years in development. This administration which is in Assam has taken Assam back by another 20 years. Thank you, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, the discussion is concluded.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: Madam, I am on a point of order. It is a very pertinent point. He said: "The real situation prevailing in Bodo land will be known to the country." Where is the "Bodo land" existing?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Bodo land agitation.

SHRI PUTTAPAGA RADHAKRISHNA: He said "Bodo land".

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Now it is proved that your earphone is not working.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Madam, I want to seek one clarification.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think he gave a very elaborate reply. I doubt if he has left any point. You can go and talk to the Minister in the Lobby.

DR. NAGEN SAIKIA: Madam, through you, I want to ask only one question. May I know from the Minister whether he would take any steps against the *Surya* magazine where some allegations have been made against the Home Ministry.

SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV: Madam, we are strong believers of the freedom of the press. If we have to go like that then we will find hundreds of cases. You know very well that the Press is not very happy and he does not know the background of *Surya* magazine as we know.

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**Modernisation of steel plants in public sector**

**उपसभापति** : राम अवधेश जी, आप पहले अनुमति लीजिए कि आप को आगे से बोलना है ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : (बिहार) : महोदया, मुझको अनुमति दी जाय ।

**उपसभापति** : आप अपनी सीट से क्यों नहीं बोल रहे हैं ?

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : मेरे सब नोट्स वगैरह यहां रखे हैं ।

**उपसभापति** : इस शर्त पर आपको हम अनुमति देते हैं कि आप पन्द्रह मिनिट में बोलेंगे सिर्फ, जो कि आपका टाइम है । अगर आप पन्द्रह मिनिट में बोलें तो बोलिए ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : पन्द्रह मिनिट में तो नहीं होगा ।

**उपसभापति** : पन्द्रह मिनिट से ज्यादा टाइम नहीं है ।

**श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी** (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : मेडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन, अगर पन्द्रह मिनिट में यह स्पीच खत्म नहीं करेंगे तो मैं कहूंगा कि मैं चला जाने वाला हूं । आप ज्यादा समय लेंगे तो मैं बैठने वाला नहीं हूं ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : : नहीं, ऐसा मत कहिए ।

**उपसभापति** : हम भी चले जाएंगे, हम सब लोग चले जाएंगे, हाउस एडजोर्न करके ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : आप तो नहीं जाइएगा ।

**श्री बी० सत्यनारायण रेड्डी** : मैं अपना समय इनको दे देता हूं, इनको बोलने दीजिए, जितनी देर बोलना है ।

**उपसभापति** : अभी आप बोलिए नहीं, खाली मंत्री जी का ध्यान खींचिए । अभी आप खाली नोट से पढ़ दीजिए ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, आप सचमुच दिल से . . .

**उपसभापति** : नहीं, खाली नोट से पढ़िए । फिर मंत्री जी बोलेंगे ।

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : माननीय उपसभापति महोदया, मैं आपकी अनुमति से प्रौद्योगिक परिवर्तनों और उनमें अंतर्ग्रस्त लागत के आधार पर सरकारी क्षेत्र के इस्पात संयंत्रों का आधुनिकीकरण करने की आवश्यकता के संबंध में इस्पात और खान मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूं ।

THE MINISTER OF STEEL AND MINES (SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR): Madam, you will excuse me, I would like to reply in English.

**श्री राम अवधेश सिंह** : नहीं, हमको हिन्दी में उत्तर दीजिए ।